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A HISTORY OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

1843–1874

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1843–1874

BY

J. R. FLEMING, D.D.

SOMETIME MINISTER AT BELLSHILL AND NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE
AND GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN ALLIANCE

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TO

THE RE-UNITED SCOTTISH CHURCH

OF THE FUTURE

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TWELVE years ago the author, being relieved from the regular duties of the pastorate, set before himself the aim of writing a popular history of the Church in Scotland from 1843 to the present day, tracing the parallel streams towards their convergence into something like one channel. So he began to accumulate material and to sketch a plan for the work. Very soon, however, his appointment to an office which absorbed most of his energies prevented him from carrying out the original idea within a reasonable period. He found, too, that the first thirty years after the Disruption presented a field so open to fresh investigation and so full of germinal influences for the future that a narrative thus limited might very well have a completeness in itself. All the leading personalities of that time have long since passed away, and it is possible to review past controversies in an impartial spirit not so easy to maintain when the perspective is nearer. Therefore he ventures to submit now the result of his study and research, not without the hope that he or some other may be able later to carry the story further.

Acknowledgment is due to living friends and helpers, too numerous to mention here, who have given valuable

counsel and suggestions. Among those who are gone, grateful mention must be made of Professor Hume Brown, Rev. Robert Mackenzie of Alloa, and Sir William Robertson Nicoll. The chief authorities are indicated at the end of the chapters.

J. R. F.

EDINBURGH, 1927.

CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
	Author's Preface	vii
I.	Scotland in 1843	1
	Authorities	16
II.	The Significance of the Disruption—	
	1. The Facts in Outline	19
	2. The Principle at Issue	23
	3. Parliament and the Church	25
	4. Was a *Modus Vivendi* Possible?	27
	5. Sacrifice and Martyrdom	30
	6. After-Influence of the Event	31
	Authorities	35
III.	1843–1853. Period of Reconstruction—	
	1. A Reactionary Assembly	37
	2. A New Church in the Making	40
	3. Theological Controversy	45
	4. Education and the Care of the Poor	50
	5. Repairing the Breach	55
	6. Free Church Progress	63
	7. A Larger Unity in View	72
	8. The Temperance Movement	76
	9. The United Presbyterian Church	81
	10. Outside the Main Current	89
	11. Literature	92
	12. Public Events	98
	Authorities	101

CHAP. PAGE

IV. 1853–1863. Mental and Spiritual Awakening—

1. Scotland in 1853 103
2. Intellectual Movement . . . 106
3. Religious Revival 111
4. Beginnings of Worship Reform . . 116
5. Ecclesiastical Tendencies . . . 123
6. Expansion at Home and Abroad . . 140
7. Social Progress 149
8. Literature 156
9. Personal 167
10. Public Events 169

Authorities 173

V. 1863–1874. Towards Unity and Freedom—

1. Union Negotiations and Proposals . 174
2. The Abolition of Patronage . . 190
3. The Battle over Innovations . . 202
4. The Sabbath in Danger . . . 212
5. Doctrinal Transition 220
6. Spiritual Movements 230
7. Political and Social 237
8. Education. 240
9. Scottish Episcopacy and its Relations . 243
10. The Smaller Churches . . . 248
11. Literature 252
12. Personal Factors 257

Authorities 259

Appendices—

A. Free Church Protest (1843) . . 261
B. Basis of Union between Secession and Relief Churches (1847) . . 265
C. Articles of Agreement between Churches on Relations of Church and State (1867) 267
D. Patronage in the Church of Scotland 268

Index 271

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CHAPTER I

SCOTLAND IN 1843

A BRIEF survey of the general condition of Scotland in 1843 is necessary for the proper understanding of what follows. We are about to write the ecclesiastical history of a definite period in a particular country, remembering all the while that spiritual facts can no more be isolated than natural facts, and that the experience of the Church is realised in the course of history at large. What we have to do with is not merely one section or element of human life, but all national life as seen from one illuminating point of view. Therefore it is highly important at the outset to grasp what kind of Scotland presents itself before our eyes at the start of our narrative.

1843 marks the clearest dividing line between the old and new influences at work, so far as any single year can be chosen for that purpose. To some, 1832 may seem more momentous, for then the Reform Act set the whole nation, and Scotland very specially, on a fresh course of political development, and the passing of Walter Scott marked the end of a great literary era. But a dramatic event like the Disruption of the Church was needed to make evident the issues involved, and it coincided with other changes of a momentous character. Even secular writers have recognised this. Both Professor Hume Brown and Dr. Law Mathieson, the

latest Scottish historians on an extended scale, have chosen 1843 as the terminus of their main researches. What for them is a suitable ending is for us an appropriate point of departure, and if we close meanwhile at 1874, we shall avoid the danger that always lurks in discussing events too recent to admit of calm and judicial treatment.

Reserving for next chapter a consideration of the significance of the Disruption, let us try to summarise the leading political, social, and literary characteristics of 1843, and then to indicate the main trends of religious thought and activity.

Politics.

Scarcely more than a decade had passed since the emancipation of Scotland from a régime of severe political repression, reduced to a perfect system under Henry Dundas, Viscount Melville (whose monument still soars above the New Town of Edinburgh), and continued with more or less rigour till the triumph of the Whigs in 1830, when Jeffrey, Cockburn, and the long-baffled reformers at last came to their own. The Scottish representation in the House of Commons became something like a reality, and the predominant radical tendency of the country ever since is largely due to the rebound from the despotic government that fettered so long the free genius of the people. Yet it had eminently respectable support during its period of ascendancy. The still surviving Moderate tradition of the Kirk was on that side, and the brilliant pens of Scott and of the Blackwood and Quarterly groups were employed in its service. And the forces of reaction, even after their rout, remained strong enough, especially in the Parliament House and among the wealthy and privileged classes, to be both arrogant and influential. A conservative ministry under Sir Robert Peel came into power again at Westminster in 1841, and the hopes of the party had revived accordingly. In London, if not in Edinburgh, an effective drag could be placed on the still lumbering chariot-wheels of progress.

The Whig majority sent up from Scotland was powerless in face of the overwhelming English vote on the

other side, and it must be confessed that few of the national representatives were closely in touch with Scottish feeling or at all eager to move out of the recognised party ruts. Macaulay was out of sight the most distinguished, but he was a Whig politician and man of letters above everything else, and he never really took the trouble to understand the local conditions of his Edinburgh constituency. Joseph Hume, who was elected member for Montrose Burghs in 1842, represented cosmopolitan ideals and Benthamite economics rather than native concerns. More than half of the Scotch M.P.'s were connected with the peerage or the landed interest. These were the days of the anti-Corn Law agitation, which had not yet reached the stage of being adopted as a necessary plank of the Liberal platform. But Richard Cobden, its protagonist, and John Bright, its most eloquent advocate (who entered Parliament this year), were forcing it well to the front. Cobden's visit to Scotland in 1843 was a triumphant success. He was mightily impressed by the "educated gentlemen and practical philosophers" he found among the farmers, and by the ready response of the masses of the people to his appeals. He had the novel experience of addressing two thousand persons in a parish church, and the Dissenting ministers were as a rule warm champions of his cause.[1]

Social Conditions.

Chartism made its influence felt in some quarters, notably in Paisley, where Patrick Brewster, a parish clergyman greatly in advance of his time, was foremost as a Radical reformer. The "Condition of the People Question" was really acute enough. Women and children were still working in the mines. Chalmers had done his best to awaken Glasgow to the seriousness of its social problems, and to show what the Church might do, if enthusiastically led and skilfully organised, to meet the case of the helpless poor. But his scheme remained a solitary and incomplete experiment, and the Disruption removed the last hope of making it general. Thomas Carlyle, whose *Past and Present* is one of the

[1] Morley's *Life of Cobden*, vol. i. p. 286.

most vivid social documents of this year, says in his first chapter: "In thrifty Scotland itself, in Glasgow or Edinburgh city, in their dark lanes hidden from all but the eye of God, and of rare Benevolence, the minister of God, there are scenes of woe and destitution and desolation such as, one may hope, the sun never saw before in the most barbarous regions where men dwelt." He goes on to demand a Poor Law for Scotland if it is not to become a byword among the nations.[1] A Poor Law Commission had indeed begun to sit in February 1843, with results that will be afterwards indicated. Temperance, with what many good people considered its doubtful and as yet novel adjunct of Total Abstinence, was as yet merely the concern of insignificant societies. The scandal of open public-houses on the Sabbath still existed. Drunkenness was the most evident national vice.

Education.

The Scotland of 1843 had good cause to be proud of her parish school system that up till then had nobly held the field, producing splendid results in the people's life, with Government aid to the extent of only £50,000 a year. Elementary education, like the care of the poor, was part of the old Church organisation. We shall see how the appearance of the Free Church as a rival to the Establishment in the educational field hastened, though slowly, the adoption of an impartial State scheme. University education was sorely in need of reform. Few encouragements were given to graduation; the teaching, unless of a few outstanding men, was not of expert quality; there was no attempt at specialisation, and party and sectarian considerations entered too much into the elections to professorial chairs. The first public protest against the imposition of a Confessional Test on holders of non-theological chairs had just been successfully made by John Stuart Blackie, who with a clear mental reservation as to his theological opinions began to teach Latin at Aberdeen in 1841, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the Presbytery to keep him out.

Population.

The population of the whole country was only a little

[1] *Past and Present*, Book I. chap. i.

over 2½ millions, 700,000 living in the seven largest towns; Edinburgh numbered 166,450 inhabitants; Glasgow, 274,533; Aberdeen, 64,767; Dundee and Paisley had each a little over 60,000.[1] But significant changes were in progress. Industrialism was beginning to lay hold on quiet rural districts which have since become sites of busy hives of people. At the same time Highland glens and Lowland villages were sending forth some of their best folk to colonise the new lands across the seas.

Beginnings of Railway System.

A visible fact was the incipient railway revolution. The Edinburgh and Glasgow line had just been opened, and a trip upon it was regarded as a thrilling sensation. The only other railways in Scotland were a few local tracks in the West, and one connecting Dundee with Arbroath and Forfar. To travel to Perth and the North, or to Carlisle and the South, it was still necessary to take coach. The main lines to London could be reached no nearer than Lancaster or Darlington. So the mail coaches continued to run in their glory, though the iron horse was gradually but surely spelling their doom Sabbath-keeping Scotland was roused to hot indignation by the running of two trains each way between Edinburgh and Glasgow on the Lord's Day. Travellers by them in 1843 were generally regarded as shameless violators of the Divine Law, and the pressure of public opinion led, in 1846, to their withdrawal, not to be resumed till twenty years had gone. Hugh Miller published a powerful article—"A Vision of the Railroad"[2]—in which he indulged, not without cause, in gloomy prophecies as to the disintegrating effect of the new method of travel on Scottish religious traditions.

Literary Influences.

A literary renaissance is often the precursor of a spiritual revival, and so it was in Scotland in the early part of the nineteenth century. Men's minds were widened and deepened, and new light from the past was shed upon the present. Yet it would be a mistake to say that the great name of that renaissance—Walter Scott—had much, if anything, to do with the religious move-

[1] *Oliver & Boyd's Almanac*, 1844. [2] *Witness*, March 4, 1843.

ment that followed. Religious Scotland was not quite sure how to appraise the work of Scott. While his stately memorial was rising in Princes Street Gardens, not a few pious parents had difficulties about allowing their children to read the Waverley Novels For apart from the current objection to all fiction as frivolous, had he not caricatured the Covenanters in *Old Mortality* and opened the portals of imagination to a dangerously romantic world? More influential in ecclesiastical circles than fiction or poetry were the *Lives of Knox and Melville*, by Dr. Thomas M'Crie, and the publications of the Wodrow Society, which led to much fresh and sympathetic study of the First and Second Reformations. But Chalmers, notwithstanding his evangelical passion, never quite outgrew his early humanism, and the love of learning was too typical of the perfervid genius of the Scot to be crushed into the moulds of a narrow pietism. 1843, however, must be regarded as a low-water mark in Scottish literature of the great and universal stamp. Carlyle could not live by his pen in his native land. Events rather than books kindled the thought of the time. This largely explains the power of the newspaper Press, notwithstanding the restrictions on it in the form of revenue duties. There were some seventy journals in Scotland in 1843. Dailies did not exist, but Edinburgh had no fewer than eight organs, while Glasgow had six. Most of these were conducted on behalf of one or other of the political parties, *The Scotsman* being the great Whig oracle. During the "Ten Years' Conflict" the Whig press showed little favour for the Non-Intrusion cause. It was much influenced by the Dissenting interest, which was the backbone of the progressive party, and jealous of anything like increased prestige for the State Church. This led to the establishment of *The Witness*, by Chalmers, Candlish, and their friends, and the bringing to Edinburgh of Hugh Miller as its editor. Miller had already shown himself a master of prose style. His leaders at this crisis were of superb literary quality and inspired by an almost fierce enthusiasm, not unmingled with intolerance. These were days of violent anta-

gonisms, and a war of pamphlets raged throughout the land. In perusing such even cursorily, we are struck by the strength of invective and the sledge-hammer blows dealt on both sides. We have certainly gained since then in sweetness and light if we have lost something of the old force and fervour of conviction.

Position of the Church.

A rough estimate of the time gives the number adhering to the CHURCH OF SCOTLAND just before the Disruption as about a million and a half, half a million being allotted to the Dissenters and Roman Catholics, and an equal number to those outside the Church altogether. It is a curious fact, attested by Lord Balfour of Burleigh from official statistics,[1] that the *communicants* of the Church of Scotland did not number more than 14 per cent. of the population. Stiff credal orthodoxy was absolutely in possession, and would not brook any questioning of the Westminster Standards in the slightest degree. The Moderate party in the Church, while they clung to Patronage and stood for obedience to the Civil Law against the independence of the Church courts, were just as rigid in enforcing the doctrines of the Confession as their opponents. This has to be noted when comparisons are made between the Moderates of 1843 and their more latitudinarian predecessors. Neither side had any patience with the mysticism of Edward Irving or M'Leod Campbell, and so recently as 1841 another heretic, Wright of Borthwick, was almost unanimously expelled from the Church, though he disowned and abjured every one of the errors laid to his charge. Yet the works of a layman, Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, notably his *Unconditional Freeness of the Gospel* (1828) and *The Brazen Serpent* (1831), were exerting a quiet influence in England and on the Continent even more than in Scotland, and M'Leod Campbell was preaching in a hall in Glasgow to a company of devoted followers, preparing to write that book on the Atonement which was to have a marked effect on later theology. But it was not merely the din of an all-absorbing Church controversy that arrested the

[1] *The Rise and Development of Presbyterianism in Scotland*, p. 158.

progress of religious thought. The ardent evangelistic activity on the approved orthodox lines was an even more potent factor in delaying the inevitable recoil from the old order of ideas. The preaching of such men as William C. Burns (afterwards famous as a pioneer missionary to China), the Bonars—Andrew and Horatius—and, above all, the intense earnestness of Robert Murray M'Cheyne, who died just before the Disruption, were powerfully instrumental in translating dry dogmatism into living faith and practice. This movement recalled the days of Samuel Rutherford and James Guthrie, and presented the spiritual and more permanent side of the Covenanting testimony very vividly before Scotland just when its political aspects were being discovered in new applications. Hence the success of their popular appeal, which would have been much less effective if it had not drawn its strength from an heroic past. The school of saints that brought many in the land to their knees in those days may have been limited in outlook and unduly stern in discipline, but it undoubtedly gave fresh vitality and meaning to the solemn creed on which the people had long been nurtured, and prepared them for sacrifices worthy of their fathers.

A leading feature of the time was the violent antipathy to Roman Catholicism. This was due to several causes. The Roman Church, emancipated only since 1829 from civil disabilities, was using its freedom in ways that were very offensive to Protestant sentiment. The increasing immigration from Ireland brought a band of priests in its train.[1] "Puseyism," as it was usually called at that period, was generally looked upon as a conspiracy to convert England and ultimately Great Britain to Rome, and its progress was viewed with nervous alarm. This was the year when Dr. Pusey was suspended from preaching because of what was believed to be his advocacy of Transubstantiation, and

[1] There were three Roman Catholic Bishops and about one hundred clergy in Scotland in 1843. Eight years later the number of persons registered as attending Mass was 43,878.

when John Henry Newman practically bade farewell to Anglicanism. O'Connell's agitation for the Repeal of the Irish Union was at its height. And the revived interest in the "anti-Popish and anti-Prelatical contendings" of the Scottish folk made their descendants no less eager for the fray with the ancient enemy under changed conditions.

Worship.

Not a whisper was as yet raised in favour of a more catholic worship or a more elaborate ritual in the services of the Kirk. Any suggestion of the sort would at once have been tabooed as savouring of Romish innovation. Only one Presbyterian denomination—the Relief—had sanctioned a collection of hymns. The "Metrical Translations and Paraphrases," though in use for over sixty years, were still suspect in many quarters. The order of service on the Lord's Day consisted, as a rule, of two or three Psalm singings, a long prayer and one only relatively short, with a lengthy discourse from the pulpit. The reading of Holy Scripture was by no means general, except as an introduction to the sermon. The Lord's Supper was observed at rare intervals (once or twice a year), being preceded and followed by special Fast and Thanksgiving days. Only in the Episcopal Church (not to mention the Roman) could æsthetic desires find satisfaction, and this explains the tendency—rather noticeable at this time—of persons, especially in the upper classes, who had been educated in England, to frequent the services of that Communion. One might almost say that there was a sort of patriotic pride in keeping up the tradition of a bare and simple worship racy of the Scottish soil, and emphasising the sermon as its central act. Church architecture was at its lowest ebb. Wealthy congregations were content to meet in barn-like buildings, and the few attempts to restore or imitate classic and Gothic models were seldom successful. But it should not be forgotten that certain features of the national ritual, and particularly the Communion Service, had an austere beauty and impressiveness all their own. The abuses depicted by Burns in his *Holy Fair* had almost entirely vanished, and there remained a rite majestic in

its very simplicity.[1] What was lacking in 1843 was general appreciation of the rich and permanent elements in the old catholic use which the Reformers, being nearer to it, felt much more than the Covenanters and later Presbyterians, who drifted further and further into a meagre if devout Puritan cult. "Supply of sermon" was still regarded as the essential element in true worship, and indeed her preaching has ever been the supreme glory of the Scottish Kirk.

The Dissenting Bodies.

Dissent in Scotland in its parallel and converging streams has nearly always preserved the characteristic features of the main current, adhering to the same doctrines and forms of service, usually with more tenacity. The SECESSION, originating in 1733, and all too soon split into the sects of Burgher and Anti-Burgher, had outgrown the tendency to division, and, after the happy reunion of 1820, was now moving towards amalgamation with the Relief, which had separated from the Establishment in 1762. As The United Associate Synod, it in 1843 included 393 congregations, and was disturbed by controversy on the extent of the Atonement. James Morison, one of the ablest of the younger ministers, was driven out of the denomination in 1841 for departing from the accepted Westminster doctrine. There is no evidence that he was influenced by the views of Thomas Erskine and M'Leod Campbell. In his evangelistic zeal he simply felt bound to preach a Gospel free from limitation, and he refused to accommodate his testimony to the balancing formula that found favour with the leaders of the Secession Church—"Christ died for the elect to secure their redemption, so far as the purpose of God and His own intention are concerned, but His death has also a relation to mankind sinners, being suitable to all and sufficient to the salvation of all."[2] In some respects Morison's theology was crude and liable to misunderstanding, but more considerate treatment might have retained him in the Church's ministry and

[1] See *Matthew Leishman of Govan*, by J. F. Leishman, 1921, pp. 85–88, for an interesting account of an old Scottish Communion season.

[2] *Testimony of Associate Synod*, 1828.

prevented the schism which took place in the formation of the EVANGELICAL UNION on May 16, just two days before the Disruption. Morison was joined by his father, the Rev. Robert Morison of Bathgate, the Rev. A. C. Rutherford of Falkirk, and the Rev. John Guthrie of Kendall, all of whom were suspended by the Secession Synod for sympathy with his views. This movement, which attracted little attention at a time marked by bigger events, is significant as denoting the first organised Scottish protest against the hard Calvinistic dogmas of the Westminster Confession. It sought a popular basis in proclaiming *the three Universalities*—"the Love of God the Father in the gift and sacrifice of Jesus to all men everywhere without distinction, exception, or respect of persons, the Love of God the Son in the gift and sacrifice of Himself as a true propitiation for the sins of the whole world, and the Love of God the Holy Spirit in the present and continuous work of applying to the souls of all men the provisions of Divine Grace." We shall see later some of the important consequences that "Morisonianism," itself but a temporary if necessary episode, helped to bring about. Its congregations, while tending to Independency, were governed by elders, and associated in a Union.[1] The RELIEF was untroubled by contentions of this kind, and rather prided itself on cultivating a freer and less sectarian spirit than the Secession, though it incurred the reproach of being more lax in its moral discipline. In 1843 it had 117 congregations. The CONGREGATIONALISTS were nearly as numerous, the BAPTISTS about as strong, but their congregations were small and more dependent on the work of evangelists like the Haldanes, who built "tabernacles" for their followers.[2] The WESLEYAN METHODISTS had in Scotland in 1843 eighteen preachers and a little under 3000 members, more than a third of these being in the Shetland Isles. PRIMITIVE METHODISM had established itself in Glasgow in 1826, and was carrying on a vigorous mission work in that city and in Paisley, outdoor evangelism being its special characteristic.

[1] See p. 49.

[2] For later progress see p. 250.

The chief link between the various Dissenting denominations was their adoption of the theory and practice of Voluntaryism. This was largely a development of the early nineteenth century, the controversy being keenest from 1829 onwards, and the new logic of Free Churchism was greatly helped by the verdict of experience so far as it went. Dissenters were able to justify their existence by pointing to the successful efforts they had made during a period of coldness and indifference to provide religious ordinances over a large part of Scotland, when the Establishment relied almost entirely on State privilege and aid. The refusal of Government to give financial assistance to the Church Extension scheme so actively promoted by Chalmers drove its supporters back upon the principle of voluntary giving they had denounced as inadequate, and the result was seen in the building and endowment of two hundred *quoad sacra* churches, or "chapels of ease," which engrafted on the parochial system a kind of semi-voluntaryism. This intensified the rivalry between Kirk and Dissent, and explains why the pure voluntaries in 1843 looked somewhat askance on the high claims of the evangelical party in the Establishment, and were not slow to point out the inconsistency of those who wished to enjoy at the same time the lucrative boon of State connection and the blessings of complete spiritual independence.

Historical Survivals.

The EPISCOPAL Church in Scotland was in a state of transition. She had not long shaken herself free from the Jacobite and Non-Juror influences which had made her more of an historical survival than a living institution in touch with the times, and was at last beginning to find her most practical mission in providing for the spiritual wants of English settlers and of native sympathisers with Anglican modes of thought and worship. But she was not without an aggressive policy. A new college was being built at Glenalmond,[1] in Perthshire, with an ambitious programme which at least suggested the possible conversion of Presbyterian youth to Episcopal

[1] See p. 89.

ways, and the bishops were inclined to put down with a high hand any attempts by evangelical English Churchmen to run chapels independent of their authority. The Scottish nobility with very few exceptions were decided Episcopalians, and the Ritualism that was the outcome of Tractarian teaching seemed to have a congenial soil provided for it in a Church that still adhered to a Communion Office more strongly Sacramentarian in tone than that in the Book of Common Prayer. There were about 90 Episcopal clergy in Scotland in 1843. Other interesting survivals were the REFORMED PRESBYTERIANS, dating from the Cameronian days, and staunchly clinging to the strict letter of the Covenants so far as modern conditions allowed, and the ORIGINAL SECEDERS (Old Light Anti-Burghers) who had declined to follow the parent body in its advance along progressive paths. These two denominations had each a matter of forty congregations.

Highland Religion.

A special note is necessary as to the Highlands and Islands. These regions have always stood outside the main evolution of Scottish religion, and have been slow to catch up with movements that have powerfully affected the rest of the country. The secessions of the eighteenth century hardly touched the Celtic fringe. The Highland temperament demanded an expression of its own, and found it in the fellowship meetings of the " Men " (as their lay leaders were called), which fostered a highly emotional and severely orthodox type of piety. The revival atmosphere was felt in the Northern glens before it spread to the South, and a spirit approaching fanaticism hindered an all-round religious development. So a peculiar soil was prepared which made the extreme side of the Disruption testimony sure of acceptance, and we shall have frequent cause to observe in the course of this narrative how " the Highland host " impeded the cause of progress. Yet the rest of Scotland and the world at large have owed much to the enthusiastic devotion of the Celt, whose contribution here, as in Wales and Ireland, to the vital force of Christianity has never been properly appreciated.

Personal Factors.

Emphasis needs to be laid on the *personnel* of religious Scotland at this epoch-making time. A great conflict like that which culminated in the Disruption was bound to evolve brilliant and strenuous personalities. Thomas Chalmers towered *facile princeps* above his fellow-churchmen, but there were other giants in debate who stood near him in influence, especially the subtle Candlish, the massive Cunningham, and the statesmanlike Robert Buchanan. The saintly character of Robert Gordon, the apostolic zeal of Macdonald of Ferintosh, the eloquent oratory of Thomas Guthrie, James Begg, and others who rose to eminence later, did much to gain adherents to the popular side. On the opposite benches of the Assembly more talent was ranged than has been generally acknowledged. Cook and Bryce led the old Moderate party with ability, but Robertson of Ellon showed more skill and address in argument, as well as rare force of character. Principal Lee of Edinburgh University and Mearns of Aberdeen were really learned divines. The diplomatic Muir, the acute Robert Lee, the Norman Macleods, father and son, had to be reckoned with. Among laymen there were Murray Dunlop (author of *The Claim of Right*), MacGill Crichton, Graham Speirs, contending keenly for Non-Intrusion against legal champions on the other side, chief of whom was Hope, who rose to be Lord President. Turning to the Dissenters, we find no lack of outstanding figures, some of them not yet forgotten. Heugh was the statesman of the Secession, John Brown of Edinburgh its finest scholar and expositor, Robert Balmer a theologian in advance of his day, and David King a clear and orderly thinker. Marshall of Kirkintilloch, Ritchie of Potterrow, and Young of Perth were in the forefront of the Voluntary fight. The Relief Church had a preacher of eccentric genius in William Anderson of Glasgow, and a worthy historian in Gavin Struthers. The brothers Symington lent distinction to the Reformed Presbyterian body. Ralph Wardlaw was the representative Congregationalist, his reputation being more than Scottish, and Lindsay Alexander was beginning to

exercise a powerful ministry in the Metropolis. Altogether, both in pulpit and on platform, Scotland had never so strong a phalanx of able and earnest men, and they were all needed when the crisis came to rebuild the broken walls of Zion, as well as to guide the nation into wider paths of faith and service.

Cosmopolitan Currents.

For more than a century, Scottish religious thought had been almost wholly isolated from Continental influences. Dutch theology had considerable vogue in the Covenanting Age, and some of its text-books continued to be used in the instruction of students. Turretin (*ob.* 1737) was about the last link with the old Genevan school. From that time French and German thinkers were either completely ignored or passed by with unintelligent denunciation. The visit of Robert Haldane to France and Switzerland (1817) occasioned a religious revival in these lands which tended, however, to run into obscurantist grooves. More significant was the effect of Thomas Erskine's early teaching on Vinet, who did not hesitate to say, "I am of Erskine." The movement towards Germany began in 1834, when Welsh, afterwards the last Moderator of the undivided Church of Scotland, visited some of its seats of learning, and Lindsay Alexander went as a student to Halle and Leipsic. In the early forties, William Robertson (Irvine), John Cairns, John Ker, and other rising hopes of the Secession Church, set an example which became the fashion for seventy years till the Great War rudely severed for a while this international fellowship. Neander and Tholuck were the teachers most in request. German theology, at first only of the most conservative type—Hengstenberg and Olshausen—got to be known through translations in the *Biblical Cabinet*, the forerunner of T. & T. Clark's extensive series. The poverty of purely Scottish theology was at this time painfully apparent. Not much light was available from England as yet. Rather more help came from America, where the controversy between the Old and New Schools of Presbyterians, culminating in the temporary schism of 1837, did tend to break down extreme Calvinism and to pro-

mote wider views of the Atonement. Samuel Hopkins, Moses Stuart, and Albert Barnes did not a little to liberalise religious thought in Scotland.

The Missionary Movement.

Last, not least in its consequences for the future, was the missionary movement in Scottish Christianity, which had barely got under weigh in 1843, but was full of high promise. The enterprise to India, inaugurated by Alexander Duff in 1829 on sound educational lines, was moving forward with a band of fourteen missionaries, and the Church of Scotland was fairly committed to the principle of world-wide evangelisation. A new mission to the Jews in Eastern Europe had just been launched with good hopes of success. The Seceders had their recognised mission fields in Jamaica and Trinidad, and the Glasgow African Missionary Society, which worked principally through the Relief Church, carried on work in Kaffraria. The London Missionary Society's efforts in the South Seas, Madagascar, and Southern Africa, received large support in Scotland, and it is important to remember that those splendid pioneers, Robert Moffat and David Livingstone, the one a native of East Lothian, the other of Blantyre on the Clyde, were in 1843 labouring together under its auspices in Bechuanaland. It was as yet the day of small things. The number of Scottish missionaries, all told, was not much more than fifty, the fields occupied were few, and the contributions small. But the prospect was vaster than the men of that time could conceive, and the Colonial expansion of the Empire in which Scotland bore a great share was destined still further to extend the sway of the religious principles she held in trust for mankind.

AUTHORITIES FOR CHAPTER I

Professor Hume Brown's *History of Scotland* (Cambridge, 1899–1909) remains quite the best for the period up to 1843, and the later Library Edition includes a valuable additional chapter on "Scotland during the Last Half-Century," which has been specially useful for our purpose. Law Mathieson's *Church and Reform in*

Scotland, 1797–1843 (1916), reveals much painstaking investigation, but is biased by a strong Erastian tendency. He makes the extraordinary statement that "the ecclesiastical history of Scotland ends at 1843, so far as it concerns the national historian."

For the political events leading up to this year, Henry Cockburn's *Memorials* and *Journal* are indispensable reading. See also Craik's *Century of Scottish History* (1901) for a somewhat different standpoint. For the social aspects of the time, reference should be made to Mackintosh's *Civilisation in Scotland*, vol. ii. (1888), Dr. J. W. Harper's book on *The Social Ideal and Dr. Chalmers' Contribution to Christian Economics*, and Mackinnon's *Social and Industrial History of Scotland* (1920–21). *The New Statistical Account of Scotland*, begun in 1834, by the ministers of the respective parishes (Blackwood, 1845), is a treasury of information, but suffers from lack of careful editing. So the previous edition, analysed by Sir John Sinclair (1825–26), is in some ways more satisfactory to students. For the Press, see Hugh Miller's articles in *The Witness* (selection in vol. xiii. of his collected works), and refer to files of current newspapers, especially *The Scotsman*.

Of general Church Histories of Scotland, apart from those dealing with the Ten Years, 1833–43 (see end of next chapter), those of John Cunningham (1861) and Hetherington (1843) are the best available, though both, and the latter especially, are apt to be partial in their judgments. Many were looking forward to the completion of Professor MacEwen's great work for a more thorough and broader treatment of the later period, but he did not live to carry his book beyond the Reformation. M'Kerrow's *History of the Secession* unfortunately ends with 1839. A more readable book, with a range wider than its title, is Struthers' *History of the Relief Church* (1843). The origins of the Congregational and Evangelical Unions are given in Ross's *History of Congregational Independency in Scotland* and in Fergus Ferguson's history of the latter. A good history of the Baptists in Scotland appeared in 1926. The history

by George Grub (1861) is the great source for the Scottish Episcopal Church. For Highland religion see Kennedy's *Days of the Fathers in Ross-shire* and John Mackay's *History of the Scottish Church in the Highlands to 1843*.

The most important religious biographies are those of *Chalmers*, by Hanna, who also edited the *Letters of Thomas Erskine*, and of *James Robertson* (by Charteris), *Robert Murray M'Cheyne* (A. Bonar), the *Haldanes*, *Heugh* (by his son-in-law, Macgill), and *Story of Rosneath* (by his son). To several of these we shall have further occasion to refer. The lives of Duff (Dr. George Smith), Robert Moffat, and David Livingstone are to be studied for the early development of Foreign Missions

For early Voluntaryism one of the best authorities is Cairns's *Life of John Brown, D.D.* (1860).

CHAPTER II

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE DISRUPTION

WE must now try to face the full significance of the dominating event of 1843 in Scotland. The sharp contention and bitter recriminations of the time made it long impossible to think or write about that critical occurrence with a due sense of fairness and proportion. To be one-sided was almost a qualification for getting a hearing, and of course that meant two camps with two opposing shibboleths and a hopeless gap between. Only now is it at all feasible to look at what happened in a broad historical light, independent of any local or sectarian situation. We can perceive the futility of denying the term *Disruption* to what was undoubtedly at the moment a rending in twain of the Scottish Church, and the awkwardness of applying the name *Secession* to a movement that ought not to be confused in name or character with its minor precursors in the previous century. And the polemical histories of the Ten Years' strife, while very valuable for their versions of the facts as seen and understood by the combatants on both sides, cannot be regarded as final authorities.

It is no part of our purpose to retell the story of the decade of conflict that led up to the dramatic exit from St. Andrew's Church, Edinburgh, on May 18, 1843, but a brief summary of the main happenings is needful by way of preface to an estimate of the fateful issue.

1. The Facts in Outline

The fall of the Moderate party from power after more than a hundred years' supremacy coincided almost

exactly with the first coming of democracy in the State. The Assembly of 1832 was the last in which they had a decided majority. Even then there were signs that a movement in favour of giving efficacy to the Call of the People was well on its way towards success. In 1833 the principle of the Veto was first proposed by Dr. Chalmers—"That no minister be intruded into any pastoral charge contrary to the will of the congregation, and that the dissent of a majority of the male heads of families resident within the parish ought to be of conclusive effect in setting aside the nominee of the patron." This motion was lost by the narrow majority of 12. At the same Assembly the Moderates were obliged to concede that the case of ministers of "chapels of ease" (mostly Church extension charges erected through evangelical influence) for recognition as members of the Church courts was at least worthy of consideration. All this foreshadowed the legislation of 1834. The Veto was passed into an Act, and the chapel ministers admitted to the same ecclesiastical status as those of the old endowed parishes. High legal opinion had declared the competency of the Church to pass such measures, and even those who opposed their enactment to the last seemed willing to give them a fair trial. But these Acts soon became the subject of litigation in the Court of Session. Patrons were not all willing to accept the veto of parishioners on their nominees, who in several instances were prompt to protest in the civil courts against the Church's abrogation of their rights. So arose the cases of Auchterarder, Marnoch, Culsalmond, and Lethendy; and it appeared that a majority of the judges of the Court of Session took the view that the Assembly had neither the power to pass the Veto nor the right to open their door to chapel ministers. The terms in which these decisions, confirmed by the House of Lords as the Supreme Court of Appeal, were set forth made it quite clear that what was demanded was the complete subjection of the Church to Parliament. The judges maintained that the Church had no rights save those which the State chose to confer. Lord President

Hope declared that Parliament is the temporal head of the Church, from whose acts alone it exists as the national Church, and from which alone it derives all its powers. Lord Brougham denied the existence of any independent jurisdiction as belonging to the Church at all. An Establishment could never possess an independent jurisdiction which could give rise to a conflict.[1]

The Moderate party, while not accepting the dictum that the Church was the mere creature of the State, held that when a difference arose between the two partners, the ultimate decision should rest with the Courts of Law, the blessings of an Establishment being according to their estimate so great as to be worth purchasing even at the cost of obedience to a sometimes unreasonable civil authority. The Non-Intrusionists, on the other hand, while fully recognising the absolute jurisdiction of the Law Courts in all civil matters and in relation to the temporalities conferred by the State on the Church, claimed for the latter as an historic heritage the power to regulate her own spiritual affairs and to perform all spiritual acts under the Headship of Christ alone.

The Presbytery of Strathbogie was forced into a prominent part in the fray, for there the Moderate majority, in defiance of the Veto and the decision of the Assembly in the Marnoch case within their bounds, insisted on ordaining a rejected presentee. For this action they were deposed from the ministry, though it was maintained in their defence that they had simply carried out the declared law of the land in preference to complying with the illegal measures of the Assembly. As law pleas multiplied and the Court of Session continued to rain interdicts on all who disputed its authority in the ecclesiastical sphere, the situation became intolerable, and the appeal was made to Parliament to interfere. A Bill, introduced into the House of Lords by the Duke of Argyll, recognising in a mild way the consent of the people as necessary to the settlement of a minister, might have been the basis of a compromise, but the Moderates stood out against it. They were more in-

[1] *Robertson's Report*, vol. ii. pp. 10, 38, 39.

clined to favour a proposal of the Earl of Aberdeen to transfer the Veto to the Presbytery after discussion of reasons pro and con, but neither the Whig Government of Lord Melbourne nor that of Sir Robert Peel, which displaced it, showed any real willingness to take up the question. So in 1842 the Assembly formulated its views in the famous *Claim of Right* (adopted by 241 to 110), and practically intimated to Parliament and the Crown that the Church, unless relief were granted, must separate from the State. In November of the same year a convocation was held in Edinburgh at which grave resolutions were passed and plans laid for the future.

The last attempt to avert a rupture was made in the House of Commons on March 7, 1843, when Mr. Fox Maule moved for a committee of inquiry. Though his proposal was supported by a majority of the Scotch members present, the vote against it was decisive (211 to 76), and the attitude of leading statesmen on both sides of the House revealed no hope whatever of a settlement. Yet it remained doubtful to the end how many would "come out." A middle section known as "the forty," consisting mostly of men who had supported the Veto, did something to upset the balance of parties, and it had to be shown how far the bold policy of successive Assemblies would be endorsed by the Church's ministry and membership all over the land. The knowledge that matters would be brought to a final issue at the Assembly of 1843 in Edinburgh made the composition of the Court a vital question, and before the meeting it became certain that a majority could not be counted upon for a resolution involving a declaration of independence, and consequent defiance of the State by the Church. Hence the dramatic act of May 18 took the form of an exodus after a tabled protest,[1] and of necessity a withdrawal from the Assembly on the part of those who believed it to be unable or unwilling to free itself from intolerable bondage. Welsh, the retiring Moderator, and Chalmers had as the nucleus of their following a body of 203 members of the Court. The procession

[1] See Appendix A.

from George Street to Canonmills swelled in volume as it passed along between lines of wondering spectators, and in Tanfield Hall and afterwards the deed of demission was signed by 474 ministers out of a total of 1203. This corresponds almost exactly to the number that had pledged themselves to such action at the convocation in the event of no redress being granted by the Government. So the Free Church of Scotland came into being.

2. The Principle at Issue

Such in barest outline are the circumstances that led to the Disruption. To understand it aright some study of the trend of Scottish history from the Reformation onwards is absolutely necessary. The struggle for spiritual independence began in the days of Knox; was accentuated and clarified when Andrew Melville laid down his great doctrine of "twa kings and twa kingdoms in Scotland"; was maintained with but partial success against the policy of James VI. and Charles I., but rose to high-water mark in the witness of the Glasgow Assembly in 1638; continued during the Covenanting wars and persecutions which perhaps more than anything else burned this testimony into the heart of the nation; had to be renewed after the triumph of the Revolution through the encroachments of English Erastianism, which finally in 1712 riveted the yoke of lay patronage on the Church; was obscured for more than a century within the Establishment, but asserted with more or less distinctness by the branches which broke off from the main stem, and by a minority in the General Assembly of the Kirk; and was at last brought back to abounding life and vigour by the coincidence of a democratic uprising and an evangelical revival.

By some historical students this principle has been perversely misunderstood. Its more fanatical aspects have been dwelt upon as characteristic; its purely Christian and liberal features have been persistently ignored. No doubt it sometimes seemed to take shape

in a tyrannical theocracy inspired by Old Testament models rather than by the New Testament spirit, and those who have not looked deep enough below the surface have seen in it nothing better than a Protestant variety of Hildebrandism or Ultramontanism. But even at its worst it stood for a spiritual authority against a material despotism, and it has gradually been purified from the old intolerance which was incidental and never essential to it. Can we indeed be surprised that it sometimes saw in the State an Antichrist to be warred against at all costs? Have we not realised in our own time how it is possible for the power of a Super-State even yet to claim and exercise a brutal mastery over the spiritual realm of things? For the doctrine of the Omnipotent State is a hydra-headed monster. In France it has sheltered itself behind the atheistic theories of the Revolution. In Germany it passed from philosophic pantheism into the teaching of Treitschke, with its doctrine of an all-crushing Will to Power. In England it enshrined itself in the region of hard legalism, and the Scottish bench in the days before 1843, eager to find some basis for its rigid judgments, was only too ready to fall into line with the ideas which Austin, borrowing from Hobbes, had made current coin among English ecclesiastical lawyers. Nothing but the growth of liberal feeling and a theory of mutual independence and freedom in the relations of Church and State could check these unhealthy and dangerous developments. The men of the Disruption betrayed at times a painful intolerance, and made statements capable of being construed into a kind of Presbyterian papalism. But in their authorised documents they did not really teach the supremacy of ecclesiastical power over everything else, only its co-ordination with the civil power while acting in a separate sphere. We may think that they made a mistake in fighting a great battle on too small and narrow an issue. In this, however, they were the victims of circumstances. The Veto presented apparently a line of much less resistance than the abolition of Patronage. Subsequent events have proved that it would have been better to strike at the root

evil.[1] But again the discipline of a temporary schism may have been necessary to educate Scotland for the larger measure and more. The State had to be taught the folly of arrogating an absolute jurisdiction over every department of civilised life, and the Church had to vindicate the right of the religious society to live and act as an independent entity.

3. Parliament and the Church

Yet the catastrophe could have been averted by wise intervention on the part of Parliament. Three influences operated against that at the time—the fear of democracy, the failure of the predominant English partners to grasp the meaning and importance of a peculiar Scottish problem, and the alarm excited by what appeared to be the kindred claim of Oxford Tractarianism.

There was a conservative reaction in these years against the extension to the Church of that spirit of popular reform which had begun to show itself so markedly in the State. Sir James Graham, the Home Secretary, spoke for the ruling majority when he refused alike to concede the principle of election to "a variable and irresponsible multitude" of Church people, and to grant the demand of the Chartists for a democratic franchise. Even the Whigs were timid about the prospect. For a religious establishment in any part of the kingdom to esteem popular rights as more sacred than the law and order laid down by the State for its government appeared to the British statesmen of that time a sinister phenomenon. This was specially felt in England, where the Erastian theory of Church and State connection had a strong historic foundation. The

[1] It is surprising to find so accurate and competent an historian as Mr. G. P. Gooch (*Annals of Politics and Culture*, 1901) ascribing the Disruption to "lay patronage being made legal by the Auchterarder case." Nobody doubted the legality of lay patronage. The congregational veto upon it was the point at issue. Only in 1842, when the crisis seemed imminent, did the General Assembly pass resolutions against patronage, but at no stage of the conflict did it insist on the removal of this root grievance as the essential condition of peace.

Reformation enforced by Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth, so different from that achieved in spite of Mary, Queen of Scots, and her egregious son, made the Anglican Church the servant of the State in a sense that its Scottish neighbour never was. Puritanism, when it challenged the despotism of Elizabeth and the Stuarts, was simply thrust out of the National Church. The Covenanters, on the other hand, fought so successfully that at the Revolution of 1689 the principle of spiritual independence was secured for Scotland by statute. The Patronage Act of 1712, backed as it was by the policy of the Moderates, did much to nullify that principle, but its reassertion in the nineteenth century was clearly in the line of historic right, and part of the inevitable evolution of a democratic Church.

The Parliament sitting at Westminster could not, however, fairly judge the Scottish case by itself. That was fatally prejudiced by what they saw happening before their eyes in the Tractarian agitation. At Oxford they found as strenuous a plea for religious independence as had found voice in Scotland, but it was open to two very serious objections from the State point of view: (1) It was based on a poor reading of English history. King and Parliament had never given the slightest sanction to such a demand. The historic High Church School, represented by Laud, had never ventured to make it, but had consistently acknowledged the Royal Supremacy. To find authority for a claim of sovereignty in their own sphere, Newman and his friends had to go back to the mediæval and primitive Church. Anglicanism yielded them not an inch of footing on which to stand. It could point to no scrap of a charter guaranteeing their freedom. (2) The Oxford claim was associated with a revolt against Protestant doctrine. The Anglican establishment had been set up by Parliament on a Reformation basis, and here was an attempt to transform it into something quite different, free from Parliamentary control. We cannot wonder that representative Englishmen resented the very suggestion, and that they refused to give to Scotland anything that might seem to form

a plea for similar concessions in England. Neither to ultra-Protestantism nor to neo-Romanism would they grant any freedom to develop apart from statute law. To quote Sir James Graham again : " The State employs the Church on certain terms as the religious instructor of the people," implying that these terms were entirely a matter for Parliament to dictate and enforce. So there can be no doubt that the Scottish contention was gravely damaged in the minds of English peers and commoners by its coincidence with the Oxford movement, and it is one of the curiosities of history that these tendencies, so strongly opposed to each other theologically, should in one aspect present so striking an analogy. Both were demands for deliverance from an all-absorptive State, attempts to work out a doctrine of the Church as an independent and yet co-operating organism.[1] The early Tractarians, however, had no conception of religious liberty in the modern sense. Their cry for freedom was but a harking back to unfettered mediævalism that no progressive State could allow under the conditions they laid down. The legitimate inheritors of their claim, among whom must be included Broad and Low Churchmen who have outgrown the old Erastianism, take a wiser view. Now what they profess to seek is " the recognition of the Church as a social unit with an inherent original power of self-development, acting as a person with a mind and will of its own. All other matters between Church and State are questions of detail, and there is room for mutual concession." [2]

4. Was a *Modus Vivendi* Possible ?

An important point now presses for an answer. Is such a *modus vivendi* between the ecclesiastical and civil powers as the Disruption fathers believed to be possible practicable as a working arrangement, and even if so, is it in harmony with the principle of religious equality and justice to men of all creeds and none ? The reply must

[1] Laski's *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty* (1917).
[2] Figgis's *Churches in the Modern State* (1913), Lecture III.

be that, whatever may be the case now, the conditions favourable for such an experiment were scarcely possible in 1843. Frankly, we must admit that then neither the State nor the Church was in a mood at all likely to give fair play to such a scheme. The State was too despotic in insisting on its terms of alliance ; the Church was too stiff in both creed and polity. Friction would almost certainly have accompanied the new relations, and more careful thought and deliberation were needed to define the respective provinces of the conflicting powers. So we may regard as providential a delay purchased even at the expense of a grievous break in continuity.

The other aspect of the question raises the crux of Voluntaryism, and the solution is not so simple as it once seemed. There can be no doubt that the success of the purely Voluntary Churches and their campaign against the injustice of State establishments of Religion had much to do with the policy that accelerated the Disruption. When the enthusiasm for liberty was at its height, it did really look for a while as if State Churchism was doomed both in theory and practice. It was to save the Establishment as well as to benefit Religion that the evangelical leaders proposed the Veto and hastened the building of chapels of ease. The somewhat ignoble motive of " dishing the Dissenters " was a consideration not entirely absent from their minds. Then, as frequently since, the Voluntaries resented all efforts to increase the advantages of the National Kirk as unfair to them and contrary to religious equality. Therefore they agreed with the Moderates in denying the possibility of entire freedom of action within an Established Church, and saw in the Disruption a triumphant vindication of their principles. But they had not at first any intimate fellow-feeling with the newly constituted Free Church. Rather were they repelled by its claim to be *the* Church of Scotland without endowments, and its emphatic refusal to be classed as a Voluntary body.

It is an interesting conjecture to think what would have happened if the Free Church had at once joined hands with the strong Dissenting interest in Scotland, and

by a common policy, if not by actual amalgamation, had forced the issue of Disestablishment to the front. They lost the opportunity, and when it came later the parent Church had gained strength and learned wisdom as to how to meet the attack. Meanwhile, Voluntaryism as a working principle was to receive grander illustration than ever, not only without but within the Establishment. It was but natural that its validity as a theory to the exclusion of any other should be pushed to an extreme, and that Free Churchmen should be largely converted to anti-State Church views. If the Disruption had been averted and Patronage had been abolished without any political complication, it is doubtful whether there would have been any Disestablishment agitation on a large scale. But the grievance at the root of it would not have vanished. There is something inherent in a State Church system that exaggerates nationalism at the expense of spiritual and international Christianity, and that fosters social as well as religious inequalities. The substitution of an Evangelical for a Moderate majority did not make the pre-Disruption Church more liberal in her outlook or much more tolerant of Dissent, and it is very probable that any further increase in legal power and prestige would have tended to strengthen her in undue pride of place. We find it difficult to escape the conclusion that only by a relaxation of the State bond to such an extent that it ceases to press as an injustice on any section or class in the community can the Church hope to reach a condition of unfettered freedom. Concession may reasonably be made to national sentiment and venerable tradition, and it may be possible wisely to conserve ancient endowments without paralysing voluntary liberality. These are questions pressing for answer to-day, but it is safe to say that a Church reconstructed by State legislation on the basis of the Claim of Right would not have solved the problem. Many not unfruitful years had to be spent in the wilderness and many hard lessons learned before the promised land began to appear in sight.

5. Sacrifice and Martyrdom

The chief impression that the Disruption made at the time was its splendour as a corporate act of self-sacrifice without an equal in the previous history of the Church. It was this that made it ring throughout Christendom, and that stirred even the worldly to admiration. Honour is due to those who before then stood conspicuously alone or in small groups to testify to what was practically the same principle. The men of the Secession and Relief were indispensable pioneers. Now, however, for the first time there was a visible stage set and a multitude ready for the action of the drama. "Be not martyrs by mistake" was the somewhat belated advice of Sir William Hamilton, given after the Disruption to those who had already burned their boats. Their martyrdom was, however, no error, but a necessary contribution to the total witness for the truth. Only the commanding force of an overmastering conviction could have brought so many to that glowing point and made such a sacrifice possible. It was because they were deeply moved religiously and believed the spiritual interests of Christ's kingdom to be vitally concerned that they acted as they did. Of course there were lower feelings at work, as in all movements of the kind, but it is vain to question the compelling strength of the leading motive—loyalty to conscience and to the Church's Head. Therefore all attempts to reduce the event to a clever move of ecclesiastical politicians or a foolish freak of emotional fanatics are quite vain.

All this by no means implies that those who conscientiously remained in the State-recognised Church of Scotland were recreant or traitorous to conviction. Uncharitable abuse of that sort was never justifiable. Some were animated by a genuinely patriotic and Christian desire to retain for the country a sacred inheritance not to be surrendered even for the sake of vindicating the independence of the Church courts. Others had such a high reverence for Law that they could not bear to flout it even when it seemed to conflict with Liberty.

Others again sincerely believed that anything like a democratic Church was a national danger, and some, like Norman Macleod, were afraid of sacerdotal pretensions under a high Presbyterian guise. The horror of schism was also a motive that had a certain effect in days when the conception of catholicity was beginning, however dimly, to revive. These men were martyrs in their way for principles they held dear, and by staying in they brought down upon their heads criticism and even calumny that made their lot by no means enviable. Nor would we deny that by their persistent witness to aspects of Truth, apt to be obscured by one-sided emphasis and partial statements injurious to its completeness, they fulfilled a mission of real value. This history will be written wrongly and unfairly if we do not discover in its progress that the Church of Scotland allied to the State as well as the Church of Scotland free had a great work to do in the upbuilding of the National Zion and of the larger city of God.

6. After-Influence of the Event

In England.

Besides the reflex influence of the Disruption on the religious life of Scotland, which will be sufficiently manifest as we proceed, we must note how it affected the whole course of Church development, not only among the English-speaking peoples, but in many parts of Europe and beyond. The Free Churches of England hailed it as a powerful confirmation and reassertion of the principle for which they stood. Mr. Gladstone spoke for the more liberal body of High Churchmen when he recognised it as an effective testimony against Erastianism. "Away," he cried, "with the senile doctrine that religion cannot live but by the aid of parliaments." Later he described the procession of May 18 as "a noble and heart-stirring spectacle, which was entitled to excite, and did excite, the cordial and even enthusiastic admiration of Christendom." [1] More recently, advanced opinion

[1] See *Gleanings of Past Years*, vol. iii. Essay on "The Theses of Erastus and the Scottish Church Establishment," and Letter to

in the Church of England—illustrated by the report of the Archbishop's Committee on Church and State (1916), the "Life and Liberty Movement," which gave rise to the Enabling Act of 1919, and such a book as Dr. Figgis's *Churches in the Modern State*—showed a very definite appreciation of the ideals of 1843. The old State Churches have been made to feel increasingly that their continued existence depends on the adjustment of the difficult and delicate balance between law and freedom, while the new spiritual communities that have arisen to meet the needs of our kin across the seas have in every case, as in America, chosen the path of complete self-government and independent progress. The problem of two distinct and co-ordinate spheres, civil and sacred, working together in harmony, has proved to be no problem at all in the absence of any claim by the State to patronage or control, or any plea by the Church to impose discipline on those outside her pale.

In Switzerland.

In Continental Europe a different situation presented itself, and one almost immediate consequence of the Disruption was to force to an issue controversies that were acute in Switzerland and France. The Council of the Canton of Vaud declared in 1845 that the union of Church and State there existing was "not on a footing of equality, but implied the subordination of the Church to the State." This led to a real fight for liberty of conscience, the Vaud politicians showing themselves adepts in the art of petty persecution. Alexander Vinet, great alike as a theologian, a philosophic thinker, and a literary critic—more of a truly modern man than any of the Scottish religious leaders—was the Moses of the movement which resulted in the formation of the Free Evangelical Church of Vaud. From the first it preached with clear logic the separation of Church and State as the only remedy. A similar conflict had long been going on in Geneva. There it had more of a doctrinal character. The Council of State in 1847 abolished the Church's Confession of Faith and assumed the right of

Moderator of 1893 Free Church Assembly (Carnegie Simpson's *Life of Rainy*, vol. ii. p. 141).

deciding as to the qualifications of candidates for the ministry. So in 1849 was formed the Free Evangelical Church of Geneva, whose foremost men—Merle d'Aubigné and Gaussen—were very closely in touch with the Free Church of Scotland. A later secession, the Evangelical Church of Neuchâtel, in 1873, was the most important of all numerically, its leader being Godet, the famous commentator. There also the principle involved was the intrusion of the State into the Church's domain, depriving her of legislative power and allowing the utmost latitude in creed to her members.

In France. In France, theological differences in the National Protestant Church had most to do with the secession of 1849, when was constituted the Union of Evangelical Free Churches. It was found impossible to formulate a dogmatic creed for the whole Church, and in order to obtain liberty to act in that direction, the evangelical party, headed by Frederic Monod, separated from the Reformed Synod, renouncing all endowments and organising themselves on a purely voluntary basis. Thus within seven years of the Disruption no fewer than three Churches came into being more or less after the Scottish Free Church model. In Holland there had already (1839) been an orthodox secession from the National Church.

In Germany. It is remarkable that Germany, the chief Protestant country on the Continent, was less than any affected by the spirit of the Disruption and kindred movements. Here one can observe an interesting historical parallel. The great political and revolutionary upheaval of 1848, which shook so many European thrones and influenced vitally the progress of France, Italy, and even Austria-Hungary, resulted in a deadlock in Germany through the power of the Prussian autocracy. So the opportunity was lost of establishing something like a united democratic State in Central Europe. Lutheranism, the most Erastian of the Reformed religious systems, in which the Hohenzollern dynasty found a pliant tool for carrying out its policy, refused to be disturbed in any degree out of its stiff absolutism. Its State-bound

constitution remained fixed and unelastic till after the Great War. Germany has lost much through failure to develop freedom in both the political and religious spheres. Yet one qualifying circumstance must be noted. The King of Prussia, Frederick William IV., sent over to Scotland one of his chaplains, Pastor Adolf Sadow, to study the Disruption controversy and publish his impartial opinion. His book, translated into English as *The Scottish Church Question* (1845), was recommended by Sir David Brewster to inquirers as the clearest and most incontrovertible statement of the Free Church position that had found its way into print. We are left to conjecture what the King thought of it, and what impression was made in Germany. There was at any rate no practical result at the time.[1]

But while the Disruption had thus an almost world-wide influence as a demonstration of personal and corporate sacrifice for spiritual freedom, it has never been repeated on a large scale. Men have talked of similar possibilities in the Church of England, but no crisis has yet arisen to force such an event. In the Church of Rome the Old Catholic protest of 1870 accomplished little. More may be expected from the quite recent national uprising in Czecho-Slovakia under the old banner of John Hus, despite Papal excommunication. What happened in France in 1905 was also significant. The separation of Church and State brought about that year was due to a secular revolt against Vatican intrigue, and also against the public recognition of any kind of religious belief. So while liberty of conscience and the free exercise of public worship were guaranteed, churches were recognised only as *associations cultuelles*, holding property for certain purposes. Willing or unwilling, Roman Catholics and Protestants alike were obliged to fall back on their own spiritual organisation. Thus the experience of the Disruption

[1] Bishop Rodhe of Lund stated in 1926 that the change in the ecclesiastical legislation of Sweden in the direction of greater religious liberty was due to a great extent to the Free Church movement in Scotland.

found a new and wide application. From the aid denied them by an unfriendly State, the Churches were forced to turn for support to the resources of their faithful people. The result has undoubtedly been for the advantage of French religion as a whole. So long as an utterance like that of M. Combes, "There are, there can be no rights except the rights of the State," represents any considerable body of opinion, the old battle may have to be renewed, and it may assume vaster dimensions. Yet we may reasonably hope and believe that the State is already learning the wisdom of delimiting its own sphere, and will no longer force Churchmen to extreme measures for vindicating their rights.

There are some principles that must be conserved at all costs, and others, non-essential, that may safely be left as open questions. And happily signs are manifest that the principle of spiritual independence which necessitated a series of separations in the middle of the nineteenth century is fast ceasing to be a bone of contention and cause for division. In this respect the passing of the Church of Scotland Act by the British Parliament in 1921 marked the beginning of a new era. The effect of a Disestablishment policy in France, Switzerland, and Germany has brought the Reformed Churches together in a unity based on freedom. "A Free Church in a Free State" is becoming more and more the watchword of the new age.

AUTHORITIES FOR CHAPTER II

Dr. R. Buchanan's *Ten Years' Conflict* (1849) remains the ablest and most readable of the polemical histories of the Disruption controversy, though it is avowedly written as an apology for the Free Church, and does not pretend to be an impartial record. Hanna's *Life of Chalmers* illustrates the same point of view. Dr. Bryce's reply to Buchanan, *Ten Years of the Church of Scotland* (1850), giving the Moderate version of the facts, is a somewhat ponderous work. A shorter and much better book, emanating from the Middle party

and free from the rancour of earlier histories, is *The Scottish Secession of 1843* (1859), by Dr. A. Turner. Peter Bayne's *Free Church of Scotland* (second edition, 1894) and Taylor Innes's *Law of Creeds in Scotland* (1867) represent a more modern outlook. *The Life of James Robertson*, by Charteris (1861—abbreviated edition in Guild series), should be read along with Turner's history. *The Annals of the Disruption*, by Thomas Brown, D.D. (1877–81), and the same author's Chalmers Lectures on *Church and State in Scotland, 1560–1843*, are valuable contributions to an understanding of the times. *Matthew Leishman of Govan and the Middle Party of 1843*, by J. F. Leishman, M.A. (1921), sheds a good deal of fresh light on a movement of no little importance. The extensive collection of pamphlets in the Church of Scotland and New College Edinburgh libraries should be consulted by all who wish to go deeply into the issues of the conflict.

Quite recently, the significance of the Disruption as bearing on the problem of Sovereign relations has been recognised in important literature. Dr. J. N. Figgis's *Churches in the Modern State* (1913), referred to in the text, presents a strong argument against State absolutism. In *Studies in the Problem of Sovereignty* (Yale and Oxford, 1917), Harold J. Laski devotes a prominent chapter to discussion of the Disruption, and another to the Oxford movement. His work is based on the researches of such historical jurists as Gierke and Maitland, and is a protest against "the notion of a unitary State with its demand for a complete jurisdiction over every department of civilised life."

CHAPTER III

1843–1853.—PERIOD OF RECONSTRUCTION

THE ten years following the Disruption may be described as a period of almost complete reconstruction in the Church fabric of Scotland. It took at least all that time for the Established Church to recover from the shock that had threatened her very existence, for the Free Church to build up an organisation that covered the whole land, and for the older Presbyterian Dissent to be consolidated into something like a unity. This was also a period when the idea of an evangelical alliance drew men together, and the Church awoke to a real, if as yet rather feeble, consciousness of her social mission. The intellectual horizon showed signs of widening, while the spiritual impulse that marked an era of acute crisis gradually settled down into a course of normal development. We cannot, however, discern any manifest growth of the modern spirit; to revive the glories of the past was still a more potent watchword with the leaders than to achieve a larger future.

1. A Reactionary Assembly

It is fitting to turn first to the Assembly that in May 1843 had to carry on the work of the legal Church of Scotland after the departure of the protesting minority. That the Disruptionists were a minority in numerical reckoning of ministry and membership, and also in Assembly representation with the chapel clergy excluded, cannot be denied. If 474 ministers went out, 729 remained in, and the people were much influenced by the example of their pastors. But it is quite certain, as is frankly admitted by Lord Balfour of Burleigh, that

"the majority of the most zealous and active among both clergy and laity left the Church in 1843," [1] with which statement agrees Norman Macleod's lament at the time: "The best ministers and the best portion of our people have gone." Of those who remained it would be unfair to say that all or even the larger number were Moderates. The middle party, led by Dr. Muir of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, had a very considerable following, and of the inarticulate ministry that adhered to place and privilege more by the *vis inertiæ* than through any strong conviction one way or the other, the majority may be set down as mildly if drily evangelical. But the Moderate party, consistently faithful to its traditions, naturally came to the front in an Assembly which perforce had to obey the fixed decrees of the State. They placed in the chair one of their leading men, the most distinguished survivor of the old régime—Dr. Duncan MacFarlan, who had been Moderator as far back as 1819, and had succeeded (1824), in spite of strong evangelical opposition, in retaining both the charge of Glasgow Cathedral and the principalship of Glasgow University. It was almost their last opportunity, for there was already evidence that the old policy could not meet the new circumstances. A minority of fifteen, including Story of Rosneath, and young Norman Macleod, stood out against the ruthless reversal of nearly everything the Church had done during the previous ten years, even to the extent of treating as null and void the solemn deposition of the Strathbogie ministers. And a concession had to be made to the mediating "forty" in the form of consent to the proposed legislation of Lord Aberdeen. To avert the danger of further secession that nobleman was prepared to introduce into Parliament a measure which speedily became law as the Benefices Act, giving to the people power to object to the presentee at the first stage of his trials, and to the Presbytery the power to reject him if satisfied that the objections were sound.

Dr. George Cook, the Moderate leader, swallowed

[1] *Presbyterianism in Scotland*, p. 147.

this proposal with rather a bad grace, but he had no difficulty in carrying the Assembly with him in making short work of the Veto Act, the admission of Chapel ministers to the Church courts, and all the legislation that had followed in their train, for had not the State declared these to be *ultra vires* and contrary to the law of the land? He went further and got his brethren to revive the Act of 1799 (repealed in 1842), barring the pulpits of the Establishment to any but its own ministers and licentiates. This was justified as a war measure to prevent the Free Church obtaining a coign of vantage in certain parishes, and it was modified a year later (see Acts of Assembly, 1845). In judging of the other decisions of this Assembly one must in fairness bear in mind that the reactionary policy they embodied was the necessary consequence of maintaining a Church and State connection under the stringent conditions of that time. There were some far-seeing men who looked forward to a day when these conditions might be changed, and who made their temporary submission to Cæsar with a reluctance they could scarcely conceal. But for the moment there was no alternative to yielding all along the line, unless they were prepared to join the army of revolt. The note of an exalted idealism was not to be looked for in such circumstances. In the Pastoral Address drawn up by the venerable Principal Lee the case for the Church is fairly stated without the acrimony so common in documents of that period, and Robertson of Ellon, speaking on the Indian Mission, put in a strong plea for the maintenance of the missionary spirit, which bore remarkable fruit in later years. Otherwise the proceedings of the Court were dull and depressing. The Free Church Protest seemed to call for a reply, but it was ultimately allowed to lie on the table unanswered.[1] An Assembly in which twenty Presbyteries were not represented, which had to face the filling of over four hundred charges and the entire reorganisation of the Church's work both at home and abroad, might well feel appalled at the task before it. It was the dead ebb of

[1] See Taylor Innes, *Law of Creeds in Scotland*, p. 99 and notes.

the fortunes of the Church by law established. We shall see how the flood came again slowly but surely.

2. A New Church in the Making

At Canonmills.

The procession which passed down the steep streets of the new town of Edinburgh to the improvised Assembly Hall at Canonmills may have been, in a metaphorical sense, a going out into the wilderness, but it had a definite destination for the time being, and everything had been prepared for starting the Free Church worthily on her adventurous career. It had been practically certain for six months that a disruption was inevitable, and some of the best brains in Scotland had been at work to follow it up with a positive programme of consolidation and rebuilding. Hence not only the huge barn-like edifice at Tanfield, designed to house the exiled host, but a carefully planned scheme to impress the public with the magnitude of the event, and to concentrate enthusiasm on the vast effort that lay ahead. Scarcely ever in history has a religious denomination sprung into being so fully fledged as did the Free Church of Scotland on that memorable May day. With the hour came the men. Thomas Chalmers was the only possible Moderator, and he was called to the chair with universal acclaim. Just as naturally did Candlish step into his place as leader of the house, and it was a stroke of statesmanship on his part to carry a proposal which at once constituted an Assembly of sufficient weight and driving power. The ministers who had signed or concurred in the protest, together with one elder from every kirk-session, were recognised as members, and thus a body of nearly a thousand earnest men was shaped into a democratic Church parliament that suggested a comparison of Commons with Lords as one thought of the other Assembly left high and dry in St. Andrew's Church.

This first Free Assembly met to demonstrate rather than to deliberate. It was characterised by a spectacular element which, like the inaugural procession, made a very vivid appeal to the people at large. Of this the

picture by D. O. Hill, which in its engraved form found way into thousands of Scottish households, is a permanent memento. Not only does it graphically represent the signing of the "Act of Separation and Deed of Demission" by ministers and elders of every degree: it conveys the impression of an applauding and deeply interested chorus of sympathisers. Three thousand persons thronged the low-roofed building day to day during the sittings of the Court, and the programme was skilfully arranged so as to set forth with telling effect the plans and prospects of the new Church. The leaders wisely kept in the background any possible divergences of opinion, and fixed attention on high common aims, so that no vote needed to be taken, and the utmost harmony prevailed. The Sustentation Fund, devised and expounded by the genius of Chalmers on the principle that "each congregation should do its part in sustaining the whole," seemed to assure almost beyond hope a sufficient provision for the deprived ministers.[1] The vision of "carrying the light of the Gospel to every cottage door within the limits of the Scottish territory" did not appear too dazzling or impossible of realisation in that hour of spiritual glow. For upwards of 600 congregations had rallied to the banner of evangelical freedom, and the adhering numbers were increasing every day. For church building, contributions were reported to the amount of nearly £105,000.

Second only to Candlish as a guide of this initial Assembly was Alexander Murray Dunlop, the single-minded Christian lawyer who had already drafted the protesting documents of the crisis, and who was elected procurator or legal adviser. It was he who suggested the first steps for setting the machinery of the Church in motion, and the wheels ran so smoothly and so fast as to give a sense of continuity and expansion at the same time. Delegates from England and Ireland came and wondered. Surely this was a new sign of the Burning Bush in the wilderness. But with all the ex-

[1] Six hundred and eighty-eight associations had already been formed, and a sum of over £70,000 promised.

altation of spirit and sacrificial enthusiasm that marked the Assembly, there was a note of self-glorification destined too long to mar the witness of the Free Church. Even the large-hearted Chalmers felt it necessary to disown the Voluntaries at the very moment when a supreme illustration of the Voluntary principle had been given to the world. "We are not Voluntaries," he said. "We quit a vitiated establishment, but would rejoice to return to a pure one." Had he foreseen the future he might have spoken more cautiously. Yet he was absolutely consistent with himself, and did not utter an uncharitable word of those from whom he felt bound to separate. It was otherwise with Candlish, who roundly denounced the State Church as anti-Christian, and asserted that no faithful member of the Free Protesting Church of Scotland could give any countenance to the worship of God in connection therewith. No doubt the intolerance of the other side provoked retaliation, but the very success of the Disruption tended to aggravate an unlovely and Pharisaic tendency in Scottish evangelicalism.

In the Country.

The scene speedily changed from the Assembly to the country, and the first few Sundays after the Disruption revealed how far the people were prepared to follow the brave lead given them at headquarters. It appeared that the sheep were quitting the ancient fold in a somewhat higher proportion than their shepherds. This compelled the provision of at least a hundred more churches than the number of outgoing ministers. Generally the congregations of the men who decided to leave the Establishment adhered to them *en masse* or by large majorities, and considerable minorities broke away in parishes where the pastors, after hesitation, made up their minds to stay. The great cities, especially Edinburgh, were decided for the Free Church, the country districts less so, Aberdeenshire and the north-eastern counties with Dumfries and Galloway proving to be the most solid strongholds of the Auld Kirk. The Northern Highlands, particularly Sutherland and Ross, declared almost wholly for the Disruption. But over all

Scotland there was sharp division and often intense bitterness. Unseemly altercations took place in connection with the preaching of parishes vacant in certain regions. The personal experience of "Leaving the Manse" was as poignant in its way and sometimes more effective locally than the sensational exodus of the Disruption day. And congregations were hard put to it in their efforts to find temporary places of worship. The property of the State had to be left at once; the new buildings could not be ready for months. Fortunately it turned out to be a beautiful summer, and where halls and other indoor refuges could not be found, it was a delight to meet in the open air. The coming of winter brought inevitable hardships, and landlords in some quarters were persistent in their refusal to grant sites for permanent structures. The Duke of Sutherland enjoyed a monopoly of that county, and at first stood out stoutly against tolerating the Free Church within his territory. His Grace of Buccleuch pursued a similar policy in the South. A Parliamentary inquiry was thus rendered necessary, and though it failed to secure legal compulsion, the moral effect was such that in a few years most of the site-refusers gave way of their own accord. Much irritation was also caused by the prolonged litigation over the *quoad sacra* churches which were claimed by the Establishment, though their ministers and congregations in nearly every case had "come out." Meanwhile there was an epidemic of preaching in every part of the land. The Disruption leaders were untiring in their propagandist labours, and soon the country began to be dotted with edifices, unpretending and sometimes positively ugly in their architecture, but firmly audacious in their claim to represent the true Church of Scotland free.

Glasgow Assembly.

It was necessary to hold another Assembly in October of the Disruption year, and Glasgow was chosen as its scene, with a desire partly to mark an historical parallel with the famous reconstructive Assembly that took place there in 1638, and also to enlist the sympathy of Scotland's largest city with the new cause. Dr. Thomas Brown of St. John's was chosen Moderator,

and there was really more administrative and legislative work done than in May. The scheme for a College in Edinburgh was fairly launched with a staff of professors that ensured immediate success. Chalmers, debarred now from teaching Divinity in the University, was made Principal and Professor of Theology; Welsh too continued to expound Church History under changed conditions; "Rabbi" Duncan was called from the Jewish mission at Pesth to teach Hebrew and to become a master of Socratic wisdom; Cunningham, last of the Scottish scholastics, was nominated to a chair of Apologetics. The session of 1843–44 began in classrooms in George Street with an attendance of 103.[1] There was now more time to consider the development of the Church's varied enterprises not only at home, but abroad. A great speech by Wilson of Bombay roused enthusiasm for Foreign Missions, which was intensified by the announcement now positively made that all the missionaries without exception had cast in their lot with the Free Church. The same was reported of the Jewish Mission agents. Colonial expansion also appeared very definitely on the horizon, for the project of an expedition to New Zealand to found a settlement in a new Edinburgh on Disruption principles was already assuming practical shape.

Steps were taken to revive the diaconate in the working constitution of the Church, and provision was made for a regular representative Assembly on rather more liberal lines than formerly. The first hint of possible discord showed itself in connection with the new rules for the election of office-bearers. The Veto Act had given the franchise only to *male* heads of families. Now it was proposed to extend it to members, and therefore to women as well as men. This was opposed by the more conservative element in the Assembly. Gibson of Kingston, Glasgow, who was prominent in the early Free Church as a champion of lost causes, maintained that the Word of God made it plain that this was "not a right which females should exercise," and he desired "to

[1] The New College buildings on the Mound were opened in 1850.

protect them from the habits of public debate and collision." But the matter did not go to a vote, The question raised was sent down to Presbyteries for their consideration, and the rights of women were conceded without further agitation. Already the Secession and Relief Churches had led the way.[1] In this respect the Church may claim to have been in advance of the State. More than seventy years were to elapse before women gained the Parliamentary as well as the Congregational vote, and a similar period before the right to be elected office-bearers as well as to elect was first allowed by the United Free Assembly.

3. Theological Controversy

A time of politico-ecclesiastical agitation is never favourable to theological advance, and any developments that might have grown out of the Irving and Macleod Campbell discussions were rudely arrested by the emergence of vital issues in Church and State. So the Established and Free Churches continued to be lapped in "dogmatic slumber" during the period when all available energy was devoted to a struggle for existence and supremacy. It was even part of the prevailing policy on both sides to make a strong point of orthodoxy in doctrine and practice, and to be more concerned about preserving ancient landmarks than encouraging progressive movement. Therefore for any notable stirrings in the field of theological speculation we have to look outside the larger Churches.

Atonement Controversy in the Secession Church.

The suspension of James Morison and his followers by the United Secession Synod in 1841 left a good deal of unrest behind it. The party that had been prominent in forcing the Synod to this extreme action thought that a leaven of heresy still remained to be purged out of the denomination. They did not hesitate to brand as suspect two of the professors, Dr. Balmer and Dr. John Brown, under whom the suspended

[1] See Small's *History of Congregations of the United Presbyterian Church*, vol. i. Appendix V., "Women's Vote in the Secession Church."

ministers had studied. Balmer in 1844 had written a preface to *Polhill on the Atonement*, a seventeenth-century work that took a fairly liberal view of the extent of Christ's Sacrifice. This roused the ire of Dr. Andrew Marshall of Kirkintilloch, who was as keen in his scent for unsound doctrine as in his polemic against State establishments of religion. Brown had stood almost alone in the Synod in pleading for milder treatment in the case of Morison, and he dissented from the final sentence. Both men were understood to favour wider views of the Atonement than were generally cherished within the Church, though as careful theologians they accepted the balancing phrases that allowed both a limited and a general reference. Balmer was a divine of fine catholic temper, and the charges brought against him in days of failing health deeply wounded his spirit. The Synod in 1843 and 1844 took quite definitely the side of the professors and refused to submit them to inquisition, but the agitation continued and reached a head at the Synod of 1845. Meanwhile Balmer had died, and Brown found himself the target of a resolute opposing faction.

A large number of petitions and memorials were presented calling for further inquiry, which were counteracted by others protesting against the tactics of Dr. Marshall and his friends. By decided majorities the Synod refused to reopen the matter, and even went the length of condemning and admonishing the arch-accuser. Dr. Heugh, who died this year, made his last appearance as a powerful mediating influence. The minority then resolved to go to the extreme of a regular prosecution. So at a special meeting in July 1845 Dr. Brown had to face a libel of five counts. He was charged with (1) denying the immutability of the Divine decrees ; (2) denial of original sin ; (3) error regarding the extent of the Atonement ; (4) error regarding the necessity of Divine appointment to make the Atonement sufficient ; (5) teaching that Christ in His death was the substitute of all men. On all these counts the Synod pronounced for acquittal, generally by majorities of three to one.

The chief battle raged over the third, and the motion passed, proposed by Dr. David King, was as follows: "The Synod finds that Dr. Brown expressly rejects the Arminian doctrine of universal redemption and holds the doctrine of the Reformers, of our Standards, and of the decisions of Synod on the subject; that the death of Christ, viewed in connection with Covenant engagements, secures the salvation of the elect only, but that a foundation has been laid in the Death for a full, sincere, and consistent offer of the Gospel to all mankind." This was carried on a final vote by 111 to 86 for a simpler motion entirely exonerating Brown, but the wording of the successful finding contained a formula of concord that was dexterously designed to allay the strife. It had that effect, for though Marshall ultimately left the Church and a "Calvinistic Secession Presbytery" consisting of three ministerial members maintained a feeble existence for less than a year, there was no schism of any account and very general acquiescence in the settlement of what was felt to be a painful and too personal controversy. Brown's son wrote at the time: "There was a Divine gentleness and peace came over the whole Synod, and every one felt in a better sense than of old that *Deus interfuit*. I don't expect to see any more impressive or unforgettable scene." [1] John Cairns, then a probationer—he was ordained at Berwick a week or two after the Synod's decision as successor to Balmer—believed that this discussion "exerted a valuable influence in liberalising Scottish theology, while it did nothing to derange its equilibrium or remove its landmarks." [2] The result certainly was to allow more reasonable freedom than had hitherto been conceded.

In the Relief body there was less rigidity of belief, so when the union came in 1847 the uncompromising ultra-Calvinists found themselves in a quite hopeless minority. The Secession Hall was strengthened in the 'forties by the appointment of Eadie, a most industrious Biblical scholar, and Harper, a theologian of clear if

[1] *Letters of Dr. John Brown, M.D.* (1907), p. 59.
[2] *Life of John Brown, D.D.*, p. 253.

rather cold judgment; Lindsay of Glasgow and M'Michael of Dunfermline, men of quite respectable ability, represented the contribution of the Relief Church to the United College. But Brown continued to be paramount in moulding the minds of the students, and it was, after all, a true instinct which discerned in this beloved teacher, notwithstanding his essential orthodoxy, an influence that tended to emancipate from the toils of hard-and-fast dogma.

Gilfillan and Scott.

The records of the Dundee Secession Presbytery in 1843 contain a passing reference to one who became a distinguished free-lance in his later days. George Gilfillan had preached and published a sermon on "Hades" which was somewhat daring in its statements for that time, but in the presence of his brethren he made "such candid concessions and explanations as were deemed satisfactory." Not so leniently did the General Assembly of the Free Church deal in 1845–46 with the Rev. William Scott of St. Mark's, Glasgow, who was accused of teaching—*first*, that faith is an exclusively intellectual act; *second*, that man's natural inability to believe is wholly moral; and, *third*, that there is no absolute need of the subjective work of the Holy Spirit. These opinions savoured of Morison and the Evangelical Union, and the Free Church in its zeal for purity of doctrine thought fit to make an example of Mr. Scott, and so check a possible growth of anti-Calvinism within its borders. So he was suspended and ultimately deposed. Heresy prosecutions were comparatively simple in these days. Departure from the teaching of the Westminster Standards on any point was fatal. No distinction was drawn between the substance and the incidentals of the faith. The only chance any one had of escaping was by "candid concessions and explanations," or by taking advantage of the very few ambiguities in a Confession which is among the most definite of the creeds of Christendom.

Congregational Unrest.

Orthodox Congregationalism suffered a shock when five of its ministers and nine of its students declared their sympathy with the "new views" of the Evangelical Union. Wardlaw and Lindsay Alexander, though

liberal theologians for that period, were by no means disposed to tolerate a repudiation of the moderate Calvinism which was the unwritten creed of the denomination. Hence a peculiar kind of inquisition that issued in the expulsion of the students and a correspondence between the four Congregational Churches in Glasgow and the five suspected ones—in Hamilton, Bellshill, Cambuslang, Ardrossan, and Bridgeton—which led to a suspension of fraternal intercourse. It was a cumbrous procedure, but potent enough to bring about a separation. The doctrines on which the controversy hung were "personal election to life and the necessity of a special influence of the Holy Spirit in the conversion of sinners as following up and effecting the sovereign purpose of electing grace." John Kirk of Hamilton, the outstanding man among the heretics, emphatically asserted the universality of the Spirit's work, and he with his fellow-Congregationalists, being less tied to Presbyterian tradition than Morison and his brethren, went further and further in the direction of Arminianism. So the Evangelical Union, which they at once joined, became more and more a society for spreading that version of Christianity. Its growth was steady if not rapid—there were fifty congregations in 1853—and was confined mostly to the larger cities and the western counties. Morison's Theological Academy was largely attended; an ardent revivalism and an uncompromising teetotalism (also in the case of Kirk, the preaching of the cold-water cure) were prominent features of its programme. In many a Scottish village the E.U.'s compelled the discussion of the crucial points of Calvinism in pulpit and workshop, not always to the disadvantage of the old beliefs. These had too deep a root in the history and religious experience of the people to be displaced by the efforts of well-meaning but usually amateur theologians. M'Leod Campbell wrote in 1847 to Erskine: "As respects the *extent* of the Atonement—its bearing on the whole human race—the Calvinism of Scotland seems breaking up fast; but this is in connection with teaching which is not light but darkness as to its *nature*." And

The Evangelical Union.

much of the speculation of this time about Faith and the Work of the Holy Spirit was impatient and ill-balanced.

4. Education and the Care of the Poor

Important educational and social changes followed in the wake of the ecclesiastical revolution. The parish school and the universities had always been in intimate alliance with the State Church; the relief of the poor was for a long time considered to be sufficiently provided for by collections at the Kirk door. But a pamphlet published in 1834 showed that the country with a greatly increased population and a revenue of five millions had no more schools than at the union of 1707, when the revenue was only about £200,000. Since the founding of Edinburgh University in 1583 there had been no important departure in the sphere of the higher learning. And we have already seen how the hard pressure of industrialism was rendering the enactment of a State Poor Law absolutely imperative.

Educational reformers were far from satisfied with the scanty resources available. David Stow, a real pioneer, one of the many moved by Chalmers to loftier intellectual and social ideals, was advocating the advantages of the Normal Training system for teachers. The Glasgow Infant School Society which he founded, his various model schools and the Training College in that city, the first institution of the kind in Great Britain, taken over by the Church just on the eve of the Disruption, mark an era in educational progress, and paved the way for the ultimate adoption of a national system. It was not evident, however, how the need for more schools was to be immediately met. Government was not yet alive to the urgency of the case, and had the Established Church consented to a compromise in the matter of parish schools, it is doubtful whether the Free Church with the numerous demands upon her would have regarded the extension of public elementary education as within her province. The Kirk, however, insisted on

her monopoly. It was fourfold. She had legal powers over (1) the old parochial schools; (2) those of the S.P.C.K. founded in 1709 for erecting schools in districts where no parish schools existed; (3) the Assembly schools of a later date; and (4) the recently established Normal schools in Glasgow and Edinburgh. These powers were fully exercised. Teachers who connected themselves with the Free Church were summarily dismissed, and strong influence was also used to oust from private schools those of similar sympathies. The result was that some 400 teachers were thrown out of employment, for whom the Free Church felt bound to provide, with the feeling that at the same time she was called upon to meet the pressing educational wants of the country. The Rev. Robert M'Donald of Blairgowrie undertook to raise in a year a sum of £50,000 for school buildings, and he more than succeeded in his enterprise. By 1851, 712 schools had been established, with an attendance of 62,660 pupils—a substantial addition to the number of parish schools (about 1000) previously existing.[1] An annual income of about £10,000 was secured, and all financial fears were removed when the Government in 1847 resolved to give grants-in-aid to all schools with whose efficiency it was satisfied. New Normal Colleges arose in Glasgow and Edinburgh alongside of the Established Church institutions.

Thus the rivalry of the Churches was carried into the sphere of education, and while this seemed the only possible way then of dealing with the emergency, it came to be increasingly felt that only a temporary solution could be reached on these lines. Dr. Begg and Hugh Miller boldly advocated a national State scheme, and though at first they were but voices crying in the wilderness, public opinion declared itself more and more on their side, and Parliament towards the end of this period began seriously to look at the question. The other evangelical Churches in Scotland were keenly anxious for an unsectarian system, but the difficulty of combining

[1] In addition to these, the Established Church had 537 schools under its control.

the religious and secular elements in any national scheme was so great as to delay the solution of the problem for nearly thirty years. The average annual remuneration of teachers was deplorably low, amounting to no more than £50 in parochial schools, £40 in Free Church schools.

Sabbath Schools.

Sabbath schools, as they were universally called at this time, did not as yet take a foremost place in Church organisation, nor were they conducted with great regard to efficiency. A good many ministers were still sceptical as to their value, regarding them as a necessary evil, but they continued to grow rapidly, mostly under the wing of the Glasgow, Edinburgh, and other local Unions. The number of Sabbath scholars in Scotland in 1851 was reported to be 292,549, being only 10·1 per cent. of the population as against 13·4 per cent. in England. The Free Church claimed nearly one-third of the whole. A Scheme of Lessons was first issued by the Glasgow Union in 1845, and from 1851 it became annual.

Work for Young Men.

Special religious work on behalf of young men is to be traced as far back as 1824, when David Nasmith of Glasgow conceived the idea of forming fellowship meetings on Sabbath mornings for the study of the Bible, founding the Glasgow Young Men's Society for Religious Improvement on an undenominational basis. The meetings were held generally in schoolrooms and coffee-houses. A "Young Men's Association for Prayer and Religious Purposes" on more definitely Church lines was formed in Glasgow in 1838, and the Edinburgh Sabbath Morning Fellowship Union came into existence in 1841. These meetings, held sometimes as early as 7 or 8 a.m., became popular all over the country. The Y.M.C.A. movement, started in London in 1844, reached Glasgow in 1848, when a previously existing Young Men's Christian Institute, originated in 1840 and including educational and literary features, was recognised under the new and now familiar name. The point to note, however, is that the Sabbath morning fellowship meeting, growing up at first without Church sanction, was the

germ of all succeeding development, and that the united study of the Scriptures was the chief aim set before the members.[1]

University education was lifted out of its ruts by the Disruption. Here, as in the case of the elementary schools, the Established Church struggled hard for monopoly, but with even less success. By maintaining the system of ecclesiastical tests it sought to keep hold not only of the theological professorships, but of those in other faculties, though this policy of exclusiveness had so far failed to keep out Episcopalians. Still the law remained unaltered, and stubborn opposition was offered by the Assembly to every measure for its relaxation. A determined effort was made to remove Sir David Brewster from his St. Andrews principalship because of his adhesion to the Free Church, and the Presbytery of Edinburgh in desperation at fighting a losing battle actually talked of erecting Church of Scotland Colleges for the teaching of orthodox Latin and Greek. The Free Church for a while dallied with a scheme of literary and philosophical faculties in New College that would make the University hide its diminished head. These unfortunate projects were baffled by the common sense of the public and the timely interference of Government to prevent a scandal. The election of M'Dougall, a Free Churchman, to the Moral Philosophy Chair in Edinburgh University, brought about an awkward situation which compelled legislation, and it was successfully carried through in 1852 by Lord Advocate Moncreiff. The ecclesiastical test was abolished except for the Theological Chairs, and all that was now required of ordinary professors was a respectful attitude towards a Confession of Faith they no longer needed to sign. What was really at stake was whether the national Universities were to be fossilised in the interest of sectarianism and intolerance, or allowed to expand in accordance with the enlightened spirit of the age. So the way was made clear for the next step—their reform on broad popular lines. Meanwhile the equipment of the extra-University

University Tests.

[1] *Church of Scotland Magazine and Review*, 1854, p. 262.

Colleges marked an advance on anything yet attempted in theological training.

The Poor Law.

The Commission of Inquiry into the Poor Law was appointed in January 1843, and its report was submitted in May 1844. Its membership included two well-known ministers, one from each side of the great controversy—Robertson of Ellon and Patrick M'Farlan of Greenock—and though its recommendations would probably have been the same whether the Disruption had occurred or not, there can be no question that the changed situation made a secular system of relief an immediate necessity. The Church parochial machinery had hopelessly broken down. Kirk-sessions could no longer rely on collections as a mainstay of poor relief. Compulsion needed to be applied to the whole community to meet a crying social distress. So Parliament in 1845, with the reluctant consent of the Churches, Chalmers protesting with vigour to the end against the frustration of his nobler plans, passed into law the main recommendations of the Commission. A Central Board of Supervision was established, with local boards, inspectors, poorhouses, powers of assessment, etc., which meant an economic revolution in a country which hitherto, except in the larger towns, had depended chiefly on voluntary help and casual charity. A united Church, inspired by a passion for suffering humanity, might have devised a complete and worthy scheme and brought it into successful operation by the sheer force of Christian love. Such a result was out of the question in an atmosphere of disunion, and the submerged masses in Scotland had to fall back on the tender mercies of the State at a period when political economy was on the whole not unfairly described as "a dismal science." Yet it was something to have the claim to relief on the ground of destitution distinctly recognised, and the occurrence in 1847 of the potato famine, and in 1849 of the cholera epidemic, proved the value of even an imperfect national method of dealing with pauperism.

Ragged Schools.

The case of the neglected poor, however, could not be entirely handed over by the Church to the State, and

it was soon found that no legal measure of relief was sufficient to meet the urgent and varied needs of the time. Of marked significance in this respect is the Ragged School Movement. Sheriff Watson of Aberdeen (1841) and Robertson of New Greyfriars (1843) were the first to start schools for destitute children in Scotland, but it was Thomas Guthrie who by his *Plea for Ragged Schools* (1847) really roused the Christian conscience of the country. One does not wonder that this warm-hearted and picturesque piece of writing, so thoroughly characteristic of the author, ran through eleven editions in a year, and led not only to the formation of the Edinburgh Original Ragged School, but to an outburst of child philanthropy all over the land. Here undoubtedly the Church led the way, though personal effort counted for more than corporate activity.

5. Repairing the Breach

In the first instance it was to Parliament, not to her own resources, that the remanent [1] Church of Scotland turned for the repair and healing of the disastrous breach made in her fabric. The State by its legal and constitutional decrees had interfered with the Church's independent development, and it was only the State that by further enactment could in any measure restore the equilibrium and establish a new freedom of action under its sanction. The Benefices Bill was popular neither with the Moderates nor with the English Erastians. Two distinguished law lords—Brougham and Campbell —shook their heads gravely at its concessions to democratic feeling, in that it made Presbyteries the judges in disputed settlements, and so indirectly lessened the power of patrons. But something had to be done, and this compromise was to hold the field till the whole system of patronage was cleared away. Undoubtedly it saved the situation in many parishes, but the defects of the Act soon became apparent. The time of the Church

[1] We avoid the adjective "residuary," contemptuously used at the time.

courts was too largely occupied with unedifying personal squabbles, the expense of each legal process was great, and the disappointed party was apt to be more or less alienated in the end. Still the Church was determined to give the measure a fair trial, and no attempt was made during this period to alter its provisions. Yet Robertson could write as early as December 1853 to Norman Macleod : " I now know for certain that Lord Aberdeen " (he was then Premier) " would be willing to concur in the repeal of the Act of Queen Anne." [1] In this as in other ways the one conspicuous statesman in the General Assembly had a clearer vision than the bulk of his brethren, though he was not to live to see what he already recognised to be the only solution.

New Endowment Scheme.

The Government, however, passed another Bill which was destined to have a far more beneficial effect, and which gave to Robertson the supreme opportunity of his life. Sir James Graham's Act (7 & 8 Vict. c. 44) aimed not only at facilitating the disjoining or dividing of extensive or populous parishes and erecting new parishes according to the old model—a result very partially achieved—but at establishing *quoad sacra* churches in needy localities with a certain guaranteed endowment of £120. The Church was able to retain —after a vexatious lawsuit—the " chapels of ease " that had been chiefly planted by the Non-Intrusion party, and the Graham Act enabled her to do still more. The expansion of the population was met by a vigorous policy of Church extension on a sound and permanent financial basis. For this Robertson was primarily responsible, and it is difficult to see how it could have been carried out but for his almost heroic efforts. Called immediately after the Disruption from a remote Aberdeenshire parish to the Chair of Church History in Edinburgh University, he was able, notwithstanding all other claims upon him, to throw his energies without stint into a task which to him was infinitely more than a sectarian enterprise. His favourite expression and chief concern, as his biographer tells us, was not " the rights of the Established Church "

[1] Charteris' *Life of Robertson*, Guild edition, p. 147.

but "the efficiency of the Church of Scotland." He ever struck the ideal and evangelical note, and set himself on becoming convener of the Endowment Scheme in 1846 to raise a sum of money that would ensure its initial success. By fervent appeals to all classes he raised in six years a total of £100,000. Though it was unavoidable that under the prevailing conditions of sharp rivalry an unseemly competition in the erection of church buildings went on for too long a period, the result was undoubtedly to stimulate the zeal of a disheartened Church, and to make an ample provision for the spiritual wants of Scotland on territorial lines.

The Five Schemes.

Credit is also due to the Assemblies of these years for their resolute endeavour to maintain the "Five Schemes" that formed the backbone of the old Church finance. With so much of the zeal for these passing over to the other camp it was a hard matter even to keep things going. That this was more than accomplished says a good deal for the inherent vitality of the Auld Kirk. The contributions to the Indian Mission, Home Missions, Education, the Colonial Scheme, and to that for the Conversion of the Jews fell by less than £2000 (£16,036 as compared with £17,938) during the year following the Disruption, and by 1853 they had risen to £18,119, notwithstanding the large additional gifts to the Endowment Scheme. On the question of Education, Robertson saw ahead of his brethren. He was not afraid to lead a small minority in 1853 in favour of a broader than a merely Parish Church school system. It was different in the battle over University Tests where he shared the narrow views of most Churchmen of his time, and stoutly advocated a "Christian and Protestant test" even for secular Chairs.

Reactionary Decisions.

The reactionary tendency that was so evident in the first post-Disruption Assembly took a good while to exhaust itself. Congregations were deprived of the power of electing elders directly, nomination being restored to the kirk-session. It was not considered proper to make any reference in the minutes of the Assembly to the death of Chalmers, the chief glory of

the Church of Scotland during all but the last four years of his ministry. A petition to Parliament against the removal of Jewish disabilities was agreed upon in 1847 by 112 votes to 5. The obnoxious Annuity Tax in Edinburgh, exacting a percentage on the rental of shops and dwelling-houses for the payment of stipends to the parish ministers of the city, was clung to as an inalienable privilege. But a more liberal element gradually came to the front. There was a battle royal in the Assembly of 1849 when Dr. Simpson of Kirknewton, the official nominee for the Moderatorship, was objected to "because he is of all men the most perfect representative of those principles which constrained the men who held them sincerely to leave the Establishment, and because for ought that is known he holds these principles still." It was the first time a Non-Intrusionist had been proposed for the Chair, yet by 191 to 75 the nomination was sustained—a real proof that power was slipping from the hands of the Moderate section. Their influence thenceforth rapidly declined. Lord Cockburn wrote four years later in his *Journal*:[1] "The old Moderate party is extinguished. It has been seen for many years by others; it is now acknowledged and bemoaned by themselves. There were about twenty individuals of this faith in the Assembly this year, but as a party they could not make themselves audible. The structure which it cost Robertson so much trouble to rear and his successors to preserve, founded on no rock, has crumbled into dust." This may seem an extreme statement, for there was no manifest change of policy—only less reliance on repressive measures and the growth of a freer spirit.

Decline of Moderatism.

The difficulties of the Church in those days were of no ordinary kind. Chief of them at first was the filling of the vacant pulpits. Schoolmasters, worn-out probationers, men of dubious morale and inadequate training, often rejected as candidates for parishes, frequently animated by mercenary motives and without any distinct call to preach the Gospel to their fellows, were admitted to charges to which they would never have found entrance

[1] *Journal*, vol. ii. pp. 289–91.

in normal times. But the many empty places had to be occupied somehow, and these emergency men, accepted unwillingly because of the immediate need, were a heavy drag on the progress of vital religion in the land. No fewer than 19 ministers were deposed for immorality between 1848 and 1853, a grievous record which caused much searching of heart among the friends of the Establishment. It was well for the Church of Scotland that so far as her judicial functions are concerned the statute law of the country has been at all times lavish and ungrudging in allowing her full jurisdiction. Otherwise the consequences might have been more serious. There was a test case before the courts in 1849—Sturrock *v.* Grey—when it was held that "no action for damages will lie against a Church court of the Established Church for any sentence or judgment pronounced by them in a proper case of discipline duly brought before them, regularly conducted, and within their competency and province as a Church court, even although it be averred that the judgment was pronounced maliciously and without probable cause." The latter conclusion was somewhat modified by a subsequent decision—Edwards *v.* Begbie (1850)—in which a non-Established (Episcopal) Church was involved. But Mr. Taylor Innes has pointed out that the main point is secured—the bare allegation of malice, without a sufficient detail of facts to support, will not be listened to against ecclesiastical judges. All the judges in the Sturrock case indicated that the same privileges they ascribed to the Establishment would not be denied to the voluntary tribunals of Dissenting Churches. The cause of pure Church discipline owes much to these liberal decisions of the civil courts.

Judicial Functions of the Church.

An immediate lowering of moral and spiritual values, due to a temporary deterioration in the ministerial standard, was perhaps the worst trial of a Church that had to pass through a stage of semi-bankruptcy to restored credit. In all the circumstances it is amazing how stoutly the old barque weathered the storm. It is fortunate for our purpose that a religious census—the

Religious Census of 1851.

last taken officially in Scotland—happened in 1851. Though it was partial and voluntary, the results are quite plain enough, and the more reliable because not based on church rolls, but on actual church attendance: 3395 places of worship were reported with an attendance of 944,000 at the principal diet of worship. The Establishment led with 1183 churches and 357,000 persons, the Free Church coming next with 889 and 292,300 respectively. These figures were criticised as unfair, because 413 congregations of the Church of Scotland, a much larger number than of any other denomination, either sent in no return or an imperfect one, but in all such cases a liberal average was allowed by the authorities, so that while in detail the figures may be open to objection there can be little doubt as to their giving a fair general estimate of the situation. Notwithstanding the exodus of 1843, there were still some 60,000 people more reckoned to the credit of the Church of Scotland than her great rival, though it must also be noted that the frequenters of the Free and United Presbyterian Churches on a particular Sunday exceeded by 100,000 those of the State Church. In justice it must be added that these returns were made in a year when the parent Church had only to a slight degree recovered from the shock of the Disruption, when the Free Church was still advancing from strength to strength, and when the combination of Secession and Relief was starting United Presbyterianism on a prosperous career.[1]

That the Church of Scotland notwithstanding all drawbacks was able to keep a primary place is due to several considerations: (1) The prestige of the old sanctuaries which had so long been the centres of the religious life of the people, and which especially in the more conservative parts of the country continued to be the rallying-points of large numbers of worshippers. (2) The social influences that worked in favour of the Establishment, not so much among the nobility, whose patronage of the Kirk existed alongside of a manifest

[1] See "Religious Worship and Education, Scotland," *Report and Tables presented to both Houses of Parliament*, 1854.

preference for Episcopacy, as among the local gentry, superior farmers, small landlords, and legal functionaries. But in 1848 a higher social influence than all these began to show itself. Queen Victoria chose a Highland home for herself at Balmoral, and from then till the end of her life spent a considerable portion of the year in Scotland. She became a regular attender at the parish kirk of Crathie, ministers of the Church of Scotland visited the Castle as her chaplains, and Presbyterianism as by law established gained an éclat it had never had under the reign of any previous British monarch. (3) The continuance in the State Church of a large and influential number of earnest and able ministers who were gradually reinforced by younger men with a broader outlook. (4) The attitude of many of the "quiet in the land" who were too much inclined to peaceful ways and not sufficiently convinced by Free Church arguments to break their connection with the National Zion. Thomas Erskine, for example, wrote at the time: "I doubt not that a certain kind and degree of good may arise amongst certain persons out of our Scottish Kirk separation—more awakened thought, but I fear also more judging, more spiritual pride, etc., as in the much and perhaps over-lauded days of the Covenanters and hillside men. . . . I did not feel myself called upon to take any part in the Disruption movement, but I always express my conviction that it was one more of a political than a religious character."[1] So, rightly or wrongly, thought not a few who shrank from an atmosphere of debate and were satisfied with the quiet routine of the parish kirk. And, of course, there was never absent the pressure of the *status quo* to keep unadventurous souls where they were.

On the whole, the proceedings of the General Assembly during this period are not inspiring reading. The fort was steadily held, the principles supposed to be fundamental were zealously guarded, the work of the Church was pursued according to approved and old-fashioned methods. Not yet was the dread whisper of innovation

[1] *Letters*, pp. 268, 273.

heard. Only on the subject of Temperance, as we shall see under another heading, was there anything like a forward movement. The Church that was later to take the lead in the direction of catholicising Presbyterian worship would not look at a proposal for the observance of the Lord's Supper in private, and was only timidly approaching the preparation of "an authorised collection of hymns." A good idea of the manner in which the ordinary services were conducted may be obtained by studying Professor Brunton's *Forms of Public Worship in the Church of Scotland* (1848). One is struck by the lack of liturgical phraseology in the prayers, the scantiness of the Scripture readings provided, and the meagreness of the praise, two psalms, or a psalm and paraphrase, being the utmost allotted to each diet of worship. It was far from Dr. Brunton's intention to suggest anything of the nature of a ritual. What he gives is only a series of specimens of the usual type of service, and they are valuable as showing the distance that has been travelled since.

Leaders in the Kirk.

Dr. Cook, the Moderate leader, died in 1845. He left no recognised successor, though Dr. Bryce, the ultra-conservative historian of the Ten Years' controversy, and Dr. Alexander Hill were prominent in debate on that side. Principal Lee, who could go back in memory to the days of "Jupiter" Carlyle, exercised great weight at the Clerk's table. Later, Dr. Pirie of Aberdeen—kindly, "pawky," and wise to note progressive tendencies with which he did not greatly sympathise—gained a reputation as a safe counsellor. Muir of St. Stephen's, Edinburgh, was the representative man among the pronounced evangelicals. Robert Lee was giving evidence of an independence in thought and action that were afterwards to bring him into trouble. But Professor James Robertson, as we have already indicated, was the real inspiring genius of the Assembly, and no party could claim him. Not as yet did the elders take a very active part in Church discussions.

The Younger Men.

Of the younger men, Norman Macleod was decidedly the most promising, but during these years he was not

sufficiently in sympathy with the policy of the leaders, except Robertson, to give much attention to the affairs of Church courts. "We want" he wrote "a talented, pious, young, Scotland party. We must give up the Church of the past and have as our motto the Church of the future." But he believed that in the Establishment he had spiritual liberty to obey everything in God's Word, and that it was fitted to be a breakwater against the waves of democracy and revolution that he dreaded. He concentrated his energies on parish work in Dalkeith, and in 1851 was translated to Glasgow to begin his great ministry in the Barony parish. There were other men entering the Church who very early achieved distinction. John Caird, after a year in Newtown-on-Ayr, where he was succeeded shortly after by A. K. H. Boyd, came to Lady Yester's, Edinburgh, in 1846, and drew the élite of the city by the charm of his preaching. Three years' strain in the metropolis proved exhausting, and he found a retreat in the rural parish of Errol. John Tulloch was ordained at Dundee (1848) when only twenty-two, going shortly after to Germany to study, and settling in the parish of Kettins in 1849. There he devoted his spare time to experiments in literature and preparation for the larger sphere of University work and Church statesmanship that was soon to call him.

6. Free Church Progress

Liberal Giving.

To the outside world the most marvellous of the immediate consequences of the Disruption was the outburst of liberal giving that followed the signal demonstration of personal sacrifice. Here was a country reputed to be niggardly, and compelled to be careful of its scant resources, quickly earning a world-reputation for generous devotion to a high cause. The contributions to the various Free Church schemes during the first year amounted to nearly £1000 a day. True, it was not so much as one-third of the population that thus offered itself willingly, but the perfervid genius of the nation was illustrated in what happened.

Sustentation Fund.

A system of Church finance destined to become classic and a model for later times was successfully floated. Not that the Sustentation Fund quite fulfilled the lofty expectations of its founder. Chalmers was a dreamer of great dreams, and his vision of the wonderful "power of littles"—a penny a week from every family in the Church—was not realised to the full extent of his hopes. More ministers had to be provided for than was anticipated, and it was difficult to bring up the people not trained in voluntary giving to the required standard. £105—not £150 as had been intended—was the stipend distributed for 1843–44. This led Chalmers to propose several radical changes — that the equal dividend should be abolished, that no congregation should be put upon the Fund till its annual contribution amounted to £50, and that each congregation should receive from the Fund one-half more than it transmitted, until the ministerial income rose to £150. The Assembly would not listen to these proposals, clinging tenaciously to the idea of the equal dividend, and Chalmers was so disappointed as to write: "My expectation now of what has long been the object of my existence—a universal Christian education—is transferred from the Free Church of Scotland to such a union of the really good and wise of all evangelical denominations as is now contemplated by many."[1] His definite responsibility for the scheme therefore ceased. The Assembly devised a temporary plan known as the "one and a half scheme," under which each congregation which gave £100 a year or less to the Fund should draw out of it only what it contributed and one-half more. This did not prove satisfactory, and in 1847 there came to be a return for a while to the principle of the equal dividend. Then Dr. Robert Buchanan of Glasgow accepted the convenership. The dividend rose the year after to £128, but to get beyond that figure proved exceedingly hard. In 1852–53 the contributions to the Fund—£118,562—were nearly double what they had been at its beginning, though the increase in the ministry and the number of

[1] *Life*, by Hanna, vol. ii. chap. xl. p. 666.

congregations tended to diminish the dividend. Still when one considers the other immense demands made upon the Church during this period, the early history of the Sustentation Fund constitutes a record of which it has no cause to be ashamed.

Erection of Churches.

The great church-building time was, of course, between 1843 and 1845. Within these two years, 500 places of worship were opened and a sum of £320,000 subscribed for their construction. Over 700 were reported as finished at the Assembly of 1848. The need of manses as well as churches was soon felt, for the good tradition of providing in each parish a suitable dwelling-house for the minister as well as a sanctuary for the people is nowhere so strong as in Scotland. It was not, however, till 1845, after the primary necessity had been largely met, that Dr. Thomas Guthrie began his famous campaign to raise £100,000 for manse-building alone. The choice of the campaigner was singularly happy, for this master of humour and pathos succeeded by his peculiar magic in drawing money out of the pockets of all and sundry. Guthrie's health never quite recovered from the effects of a year of extraordinary exertion, during which he collected considerably more than the sum aimed at.

Expansion Abroad.

It was a point of honour with the Free Church from the first to maintain and extend the "five schemes" that belonged to the later practical policy of the Church of Scotland. The Mission of inquiry sent out in 1839 to consider the possibilities of work among the Jews in Eastern Europe and Palestine—with which the names of Dr. Keith of St. Cyrus, M'Cheyne, and Andrew Bonar will always be associated—had aroused much interest, and it was not surprising that the six missionaries in the field adhered to the cause of the party that believed most strongly in the conversion of Israel. The first collection taken in the Free Church for this object amounted to £3400. Pesth and Jassy continued to be the main centres of the work, till the Revolution of 1848 caused temporary unsettlement. The Jews of Berlin received attention for a while. Schools were opened at Con-

stantinople. The adhesion of all the Indian missionaries to the Free Church, including Dr. Duff, the apostolic founder, was a great source of satisfaction. Steps were soon taken to open a new station at Nagpore (Central India), and in 1845 South Africa—the Cape and Kaffraria—came within the sphere of foreign operation. To meet the growing missionary outlay, Dr. Duff, when at home on furlough in 1850, suggested the formation of congregational associations instead of reliance as formerly on collections taken at the church door. This was carried out with excellent effect. Duff was Moderator of Assembly in 1851, the first time in the history of the Scottish Church that the Chair had been occupied by a foreign missionary. The contributions for Foreign Missions rose from £4373 in 1843 to £9518 in 1853.

Colonial Expansion.

Colonial expansion would deserve a chapter to itself. Unhappily a series of minor disruptions—in Canada and Australia—broke in upon the as yet imperfect unity of Presbyterianism in these lands, but from the beginning it was clear that the line of progress lay in the direction of entire freedom from State control, avoiding identification with controversies that chiefly concerned the conditions of the home Church. From this time onward the development of the daughter Churches in the Colonies tended less and less to sectarian exclusiveness and more and more to be truly catholic as well as national. What was intended to be a Free Church settlement in Otago, New Zealand (1847), could not be continued on that limited basis. The Colonial Committee in Edinburgh did a necessary work in enlarging the outlook and mission of the Disruption fathers, and as its sphere came to be extended to openings on the Continent of Europe the wider view of an evangelical Christendom lifted the sympathies of Scottish Churchmen into new and attractive regions. The struggle in Italy for civil and religious liberty had as an indirect consequence the planting of Free Church stations at Leghorn (1845) and Florence (1849).

Home Missions, apart from denominational extension,

could not well be looked at till the strain and stress of the creative years were over. So Dr. Tweedie, convener of the scheme, could say in 1847 that "the proper and peculiar duty of the Church had not yet been entered upon. More than eighty thousand in Glasgow, more than sixty thousand in Edinburgh, and hundreds of thousands all over Scotland had not yet been sought out." Yet the work personally undertaken by Chalmers in the West Port of Edinburgh, the last of his fruitful social enterprises, was a very notable experiment, and in some respects the crown of his beneficent career. He wrote only three months before his death: "I wish to communicate what to me is the most joyful event of my life. I have been intent for thirty years on the completion of a territorial experiment, and I have now to bless God for the consummation of it." A church had been opened in one of the most degraded parts of the city which gave sure promise of a moral and spiritual transformation. A few years later the habit of church attendance had become as regular there as in the best-conditioned districts of Edinburgh. Every child resident within the West Port was at school, there was a great congregation of over a thousand people under the pastorate of William Tasker, and an example set of what might be done to touch and change a whole district by the concentration upon it of the powers of an earnest Gospel ministry. A mission started by Dr. Candlish's congregation in Fountainbridge led to another "Chalmers Territorial Church," ministered to by James Hood Wilson. In 1849 the Church as a whole proceeded to grapple systematically with the problem. Attention was chiefly directed to the "Wynds" in Glasgow, but the story of the work there belongs properly to our next period.

Home Missions.

Dr. Robert Buchanan, the author of *The Ten Years' Conflict*, contemplated the writing of another book which he meant to call *The Ten Years' Rebuilding*. To condense into a few paragraphs what might thus have been easily expanded into a large volume is no easy task. We may have the advantage of a clearer perspective,

The Ten Years' Rebuilding.

and can no longer think of that period as confined to the witness and work of one branch of Christ's Church in Scotland. Yet it was an era of such progress—material and spiritual—as to stand almost unique in recent Church history, and is none the less striking because limited to a comparatively narrow field. Seldom have a small country and a single Church read such an inspiring lesson to the whole world, and after making all due allowance for mixture of motives and a not always beautiful spirit of rivalry, the results must be pronounced amazing. The Free Church came into existence to champion the cause of spiritual independence and to conserve what it believed to be the vital interest of evangelical religion. The temptation to claim the entire custody of these principles was great, and one need not wonder that the leaders were now and again betrayed into moods of thought and speech very natural then, but impossible for their successors to-day. Not many could rise to the height of Chalmers when he said: "Who cares about the Free Church compared with the Christian good of the people of Scotland? Who cares about any Church but as an instrument of Christian good, for be assured that the moral and religious well-being of the population is of infinitely higher importance than the advancement of any sect?" [1]

Free Church Characteristics.

Still, we must not forget that if the Free Church had not done her utmost to make her protest valid at that critical juncture, she would have done better not to protest at all. Young life is always apt to be heady and exuberant, and the Free Assembly debates of this formative period reveal abundance of these qualities. But along with this impetuosity of youth there is evident a passionate conservatism that more than kept the balance even. The ancient features of Scottish religion that were in danger of being gradually obliterated, became the special charge of the new denomination to maintain and revive. Sound Calvinistic doctrine as expressed by the Westminster divines, the strict observance of the

[1] At a public meeting in Edinburgh, 1845. See Walker's *Chapters in the History of the Free Church of Scotland*, p. 80.

Sabbath,[1] an emphatic testimony against Popery and everything the least like it, adherence to the time-honoured forms of worship—these were regarded as bulwarks of the faith to be conserved no less strongly than the freedom of the Church. Every effort was made to maintain the dignity of a national Church under the changed conditions. The Moderator continued to wear court costume—the antique forms of procedure were altered as little as possible. Not yet had the solvent of scientific criticism demanded even a slight modification of old belief and practice. The Free Church owed much of its force of popular appeal to its faithfulness to national religious tradition. Moderatism had but faintly touched the intellect of Scotland, and had quite failed to reach the heart. Evangelicalism undertook to work out a better solution and one more congenial to the temperament of the people. If it began, as it certainly did, on too hard and unbending lines, it had a broader future in prospect than it knew.

No New Creed.

No one therefore expected, much less did any one venture upon, the suggestion of a new creed. The ordination formula was re-enacted with only the alterations that the changed circumstances required. Those subscribing it had to repudiate a still living Erastianism instead of the extinct heresy of Donatism. A question was added requiring belief in Jesus Christ as the only King and Head of the Church, and as founding therein a government distinct from that of the State, denial of the right of the civil magistrate to interfere in spiritual affairs, and avowal of the general principles contained in the Claim of Right and Protest. It is worthy of note, however, that the leaders who drew up the formula were careful not to include in it any committal to the Establishment principle.[2] They were also wise enough to set aside a proposal of certain extremists who were anxious for the publication of a new testimony after the fashion of the Covenanters. The Original Seceders were pre-

The Original Seceders.

[1] The Sabbath Alliance was founded in 1847 largely under Free Church auspices.

[2] Carnegie Simpson's *Life of Rainy*, vol. i. p. 159.

pared to come in at once if that were agreed to. They had to wait till 1851, when an "Act and Declaration" was passed approving of the historic Covenants without owning their continued obligation. This removed the scruple of the majority, but the union of 1852 amounted to little more than the absorption of some twenty ministers and congregations of the "Old Light Anti-Burghers" into the Free Church. The Original Secession Synod agreed to the union by the narrow majority of one—31 to 30—and according to an old and sorrowful precedent the dissentients at once constituted themselves into another body of the same name.

Note of Revival.

The note of religious revival that was so distinct in Scotland in the years before the Disruption was prolonged for a good while after that event, and found richest expression within the Free Church. Robert Murray M'Cheyne, the brightest spirit of the movement, did not live long enough to become a Free Church minister, but his personal influence survived to a remarkable degree. At the Assembly of 1844 a sermon on the "State of Religion," by Dr. Charles Brown of Edinburgh, made a profound impression. "The Spirit of God," says one who was present, "seemed to move over ministers and people and bow their souls as the wind bends a field of corn." Horatius Bonar records that the six years after the Disruption were memorable years in many respects, not least because of the amount of evangelistic work done throughout the land. It was a good thing for the Church that her absorbing practical work at this time was accompanied by the warm breath of revival. These evangelists were narrow but intense—other-worldly and often pre-millenarian in their views, but devoted in their lives and untiring in their labours for the salvation of men. A special type of revivalism was current in the Highlands, and many of the new Free Church congregations had in them a fanatical strain that did not blend readily with the more sober piety of the South. The enthusiastic adhesion of that part of Scotland to the Disruption cause imposed a special charge and difficult responsibility on the Church. This

was recognised by the holding of a General Assembly at Inverness in 1845, which was accounted a great success.

The Leaders.

There was no lack of strong leadership. Gaps were soon made in the foremost file. Welsh died in 1845, and the loss of Chalmers in 1847 meant a grievous blank—the withdrawal of a light that burned and shone with a surpassing radiance. This is not the place for a fresh appreciation of that great Christian and Churchman, and we do not attempt it. His most memorable work was done before our record begins; he lived on just to be able to see the Free Church fairly launched on her prosperous voyage; the whole of Scotland and the English-speaking world claimed the legacy of a noble and spacious life that could never be contracted within sectarian bounds. Had he been a younger man at the time of the Disruption, he might have inspired a more generous and progressive policy for the Church he did so much to found, but he had from the first to leave the main piloting of the ship to others. Of these, Candlish was the chief. For thirty years he stood at the helm, and he never lost his hold. Strenuous and positive, he yet had a mobile and versatile mind which enabled him with a singular velocity to catch the drift of things, and so mould his brethren to a will that seemed both theirs and his. Already he had led them, a solid band, through the wilderness of strife, and he combined the bold wisdom of a Moses with the fighting skill of a Joshua as he laid down the lines of their settlement in the free land of promise. He made mistakes at times, and his tongue was not guiltless of sharp and stinging words, but the Free Church could not easily have worked out her destiny without him. Behind the ecclesiastical leader one felt the spiritual power of a true minister of Christ, with a heart of tenderness as well as an intellect of razor-like keenness. William Cunningham was his twin-brother in debate, less alert and nimble, but even more forceful in argument, with a weight of well-applied learning that crashed through the joints in his opponents' armour. Unfortunately he differed strongly from Candlish on the question of establishing colleges at

Aberdeen and Glasgow in addition to Edinburgh, where he became Principal. He was beaten in the controversy, and an estrangement ensued between the two men that lasted several years. But on most matters the Free Church Assembly was as yet unanimous, and there was no party cleavage. Begg, who afterwards led the forces of obstruction, was more advanced than most of his brethren on social and educational questions. Guthrie's florid eloquence often electrified the Assembly, though he won his chief triumphs in the pulpit and on the platform. Robert Buchanan was noted for his mastery of finance and a certain statesmanlike deftness in dealing with problems. An aristocratic element, represented by Fox Maule (later Lord Panmure and Earl of Dalhousie) and the Marquis of Breadalbane, gave a sort of distinction to full-dress days in the Assembly, and the Church owed much to the band of able elders—lawyers and prosperous merchants—who took a prominent part in its councils. There was indeed a " ministry of all the talents " busy with the tasks of reconstruction.

The New Men.

The younger men, of course, could not have a chance so long as the fathers and founders held the sway to which they were entitled. But this decade saw the entrance on the scene of Robert Rainy, who was ordained at Huntly in 1851, Alex. B. Bruce, and Walter C. Smith, with others who were to come well to the front at a later day. At Chalmers' funeral, John Mackintosh, "the earnest student," is said to have pointed with strange prescience to Rainy as the probable leader of the future. Alex. Campbell Fraser, who was elected to the Chair of Logic in New College (1846) when minister at Cramond, was to have a long and eminent career as a philosophical teacher in a larger sphere. There were influences in the air destined to lift the Free Church out of its original ruts and give it a catholic bent that then seemed far enough away.

7. A Larger Unity in View

One is rather surprised to note that the year of the Disruption gave birth to a movement which aimed at

the unifying of British evangelical Christianity, and that Scotland led the way. The occasion was certainly not suggestive of a broad platform. It had been resolved by the undivided Assembly in 1842 to hold a celebration in the following year to commemorate the bi-centenary of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, and to invite the co-operation of other Presbyterian bodies. The committee of arrangements had all their plans laid before the momentous event of May 18, 1843, no doubt anticipating what really happened. At the demonstration on July 12 and 13 the Established Church was conspicuous by its absence, and it did not trouble to hold a separate celebration. The opportunity was a tempting one for the Free Church to assume the rôle of historic successor to those who framed the Confession and Catechisms of English-speaking Presbyterianism, but the most significant utterance came from the lips of a Seceding professor. Dr. Balmer dealt with the question of the union of all Christians, and his words made a great impression. Was it that even then men felt the rending of a Church in twain to be a tragedy, and that something ought to be done to build up a new and larger unity? There was one layman present—John Henderson of Park, a philanthropic elder of the Secession Church—who was so moved that he suggested and took personal responsibility for publishing a volume of essays by representative men on *Christian Union*, which appeared in 1845. This book is in several respects noteworthy. Here again it was found impossible to include Established Churchmen among the contributors, especially in view of their Assembly's action on ministerial communion; but Chalmers wrote a cordial introduction, Candlish a somewhat platitudinous paper on union in missionary enterprise, Balmer set forth what he conceived to be the Scriptural principles of unity, John Angell James of Birmingham discussed the situation in England, David King the state of religious parties in Scotland, Wardlaw and Alexander Symington dealt with the more spiritual aspects of the problem. The boldest contribution, however, was by Dr. Gavin Struthers of

Westminster Assembly Commemoration.

A Notable Book.

Glasgow on "Party Spirit: its Prevalence and Insidiousness." By his blunt outspokenness he gave no little offence, especially in Free Church circles. "Scotland," he maintained, "with all its enjoyment of religious liberty, was penetrated to the very core by a disastrous schismatic spirit," and he went on to make what was a startling declaration for that time, that "no one of the three great systems of Church government, as it exists in all its minutiæ, can be clearly established from the Word of God." But this volume was not left alone to do its work. An invitation signed by 55 Scottish ministers and laymen, sent out in June 1845, convened a meeting at Liverpool for the following October to consider the formation of an Evangelical Alliance: 216 Englishmen responded to the call, but the Scottish movers continued for a while to take a leading part.

Evangelical Alliance.

The time was not ripe for even a dim recognition of the principle that "men are generally right in what they affirm and wrong in what they deny." There was too great eagerness to form a defensive society against Papal encroachments, Anglican ritualism, Infidelity (a term very widely interpreted in these days), Sabbath desecration, and other threatening evils. Still many were more influenced by the higher motives of international Christian brotherhood, discontent with mere denominationalism, love of liberty, and hatred of slavery and persecution. A very definite doctrinal basis was deemed absolutely necessary, so there came into being the famous nine points which still form the credal platform of the Evangelical Alliance. They are worth quoting here as showing what was regarded in 1845 as the evangelical minimum of belief, and if the Alliance is not to-day quite the heir of the high hopes cherished at its formation, that is chiefly due to the narrowness of a basis which more in its implications than its actual statements has not proved wide enough for the expanding thought of a really catholic Protestantism. The articles agreed upon were: (1) The Divine inspiration, authority, and sufficiency of Holy Scripture; (2) the right and duty of individual believers to exercise their judgment in the

Credal Basis.

interpretation of Scripture; (3) belief in One God and Three Persons in the Same; (4) the utter corruption of human nature by the Fall; (5) the Incarnation of the Son of God, His work of Reconciliation for men's sins, and His mediatorial intercession and reign; (6) justification of the sinner by Faith alone; (7) the Work of the Holy Spirit in the sinner's conversion and sanctification; (8) the Immortality of the Soul, the Resurrection of the Body, the Judgment of the human race by Jesus Christ, together with the eternal felicity of the righteous and the eternal punishment of the wicked; (9) the Divine institution of the Christian ministry and the obligation and perpetual ordinance of Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

There is one significant omission from this otherwise very definite manifesto of Evangelicalism. It was desired more especially in Scotland to include an emphatic assertion of the Divine authority of the Sabbath, but the discovery was made at the preliminary conference that "there was such variety of opinion respecting the Scriptural ground and authority on which the Sabbath was based, that it was deemed prudent and forbearing not to introduce it among the main topics forming the doctrinal statement of the common faith, but to give it place instead amongst the secondary subjects for common action, with respect to which we could safely combine without attempting to decide the precise terms upon which united operation could be carried on." [1]

Meeting in London, 1846.

Certainly the Conference in London in 1846, when the Alliance was fairly launched with 921 delegates from 50 denominations present, was a dazzling event that encouraged an optimistic spirit akin to that which inspired the Exhibition of 1851. The ultimate unity of Protestant Christendom and the coming of an era of International Brotherhood did not seem so far away. From Germany, France, Switzerland, America, and many other lands, leading representatives came to what was

[1] *Report on Desecration of Lord's Day in Great Britain*, by Rev. John Jordan. Quoted by Cox, *Sabbath Laws and Duties* (Edinburgh, 1853), p. 367.

hailed as a Pentecostal festival. Norman Macleod, who almost alone in the Church of Scotland was captured by the movement, presided at one of the meetings and wrote home: "It is more like heaven than anything I have experienced on earth."[1] Candlish, too, was there, and the great majority of the Free Church leaders were in hearty sympathy, though a small section, led by Gibson of Glasgow, saw dangerous possibilities in such fraternising with Arminians and Erastians.

Later Conferences.

Within a few years the active interest of Scotland in the Alliance began to wane. Its occasional world-conferences were attended by notable Churchmen, especially by John Cairns, who never lost his early enthusiasm for the organisation, and much excellent work was done in the furtherance of religious liberty abroad. But the executive at home fell more and more into the hands of Anglican evangelicals of an obscurantist type, and the public meetings lost their original attraction. In recent years there has been a broader policy at headquarters, but the old basis will have to be revised —no easy task—if the Alliance is to regain general popularity. The polemics of bygone controversies will have to be eschewed, and the evangelical spirit rather than a fixed evangelical formula made the test of membership. Here the work and witness of these early days have a place in our narrative as among the first influences that tended to deliver Scottish Christianity from self-absorption and give it the consciousness of a world-fellowship.

8. The Temperance Movement

Apart from local experiments it cannot be said that social reform entered at all into the programme of the Scottish Church till the Temperance question pressed urgently for attention on the conscience of the country. In the eighteenth century hard drinking was a habit in the most respectable circles, and drunkenness was scarcely regarded as a sin. The glass of whisky was very much what the cup of tea is now—the accepted

[1] *Life*, by D. Macleod, vol. i. p. 260.

symbol of friendliness. Religion gave its sanction to the customs of society, especially on the occasion of marriages and funerals, and it was considered a decided advantage to have an inn in proximity to the parish or dissenting kirk where refreshment, both liquid and solid, could be obtained by the worshippers during the intervals of the long services. Under the orthodox regime of those days it all seemed part of the national constitution of things, and though there were sometimes glaring abuses, as the poems of Burns luridly reveal, there was little sense of a subtle and growing evil till the nineteenth century was well on its way. Then the intemperance of the towns was aggravated by the new industrial conditions, and a process of demoralisation discovered to be at work in the rural districts that was scarcely less serious. As usual, organised Christianity was long in awaking to the situation. The pioneers of Temperance in Scotland were mostly laymen, including, however, a good proportion of Church elders. Names worthy of honour are John Dunlop of Greenock, brother of the author of *The Claim of Right*; William Collins, the Glasgow publisher; Robert Kettle and Robert Smith, leading business men in the same city. Collins and Kettle had both come under the spell of Chalmers, and had held office under him in the Tron Parish. Indeed, we are bound to trace to the great Doctor more than to any one else the moral enthusiasm that from the first inspired the Scottish Temperance movement. Though he never became a pledged total abstainer, he was among the earliest to be convinced of the necessity of an active campaign against the drink curse, and in the last year of his life he made the characteristic remark: "The Temperance cause I regard with the most benignant complacency; and those who stand up in their pulpits and denounce it I regard as a set of theological greybeards." [1]

Pioneers.

The first Temperance Society in Scotland was established at Maryhill, Glasgow, on October 1, 1829, the pledge excluding the use of wines and spirits only. In

Early Temperance Societies.

[1] Dr. W. Reid's *Temperance Autobiography*.

the following year a Total Abstinence Society was formed at Dunfermline, and in 1832 associations on the same principle were established in Paisley and Glasgow, several months ahead of the pioneer "teetotal" society of England—in the town of Preston. Gradually the moderate platform slipped into the background. In November 1844 the Scottish Temperance League came into existence at Falkirk, having for its aim the "Entire Abolition of the Drinking System," with a personal pledge never to take or give intoxicating drink. The nine persons who took part in its formation were mostly humble individuals, not even ranking as the recognised leaders of the movement at the time, but the League soon rallied to itself all the advanced Temperance sentiment of Scotland. The first president was the Rev. William Reid of Lothian Road Secession Church, Edinburgh. Robert Kettle succeeded him in 1848. Another notable figure among the "extremists" of these days was John Hope, Writer to the Signet in Edinburgh. A devoted member of the Established Church, holding views not far removed from bigotry in politics and religion, hating tobacco almost as violently as alcohol, he was yet a man of genuine if often misguided philanthropy, and his "British League of Juvenile Abstainers," formed on January 1, 1847, was the first attempt to enlist children in the Temperance crusade, Bands of Hope being rather later in their origin.

Attitude of the Church.

Meanwhile the Church could not fail to be influenced by this propaganda. Church courts are slow to move, and no corporate lead was to be expected till much educative work was done, and there was the prospect of something like a common Christian policy on the question. Total Abstinence could not then—nor can it now, notwithstanding its widespread acceptance—be elevated into a term of communion without narrowing the true basis of Church fellowship. What we look for in vain, however, over a long series of years is any action of the Church as a whole or through its separate branches in protest against a flagrant national evil and in suggestion of a remedy either public or private. As early as 1811,

a committee of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States was conferring with other bodies for the purpose of "devising measures which may have influence in preventing some of the numerous threatening mischiefs that are experienced throughout our country from the excessive and intemperate use of spirituous liquors." Forty years had to pass before the Scottish Church was brought to that point, and America had gained that leading place in Temperance reform which she has so splendidly kept ever since. Here the excuse of theological and ecclesiastical controversy may be pleaded to account for the delay. Still the fact remains that while individuals, including such prominent ministers as William Anderson of Glasgow, John Ritchie, Henry Grey, and afterwards Thomas Guthrie of Edinburgh, identified themselves with the new cause, it was not till 1847 that the Free Church Assembly appointed a Temperance Committee, the Church of Scotland following the year after, the U.P. Church not till a good while later. In 1842 the Secession Synod passed a resolution recommending stricter discipline in regard to intemperance, but only one vote was given in favour of a motion approving of the formation of Temperance societies. The first Ministers' Abstinence Society was formed in that Church in 1845, starting with a roll of fourteen.

The report of the Temperance Committee submitted to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1849 by the Rev. R. H. Muir, Dalmeny, is an epoch-making document, and gives the results of the first systematic inquiry by any section of the Scottish Church into the ravages of alcoholism. Based on 478 returns received from various parishes, it tabulates causes and propounds practicable remedies. The prevalent drinking usages, particularly in connection with religious services, the excessive number of public-houses, their opening on the Lord's Day, the arrangements as to payment of wages across their bars, the temptation of feeing markets, the abomination of the bothy system, are pointed out as causes. As remedies are indicated the diminution of

the number of licensed places, the discouragement of social habits leading to intemperance, and, above all, the closing of the drink-shops throughout the whole of the Sabbath. The Assembly recommended the policy of "a wise Christian expediency" in diminishing the occasions and checking the practice of intemperance, and though the legislative programme it suggested was very modest, it was one for which Scotland was fully ready, and therefore prepared to take up and carry into effect without delay.

United Action.

In 1850 there was formed in Edinburgh an "Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness" to fulfil these aims, and for the first time since the Disruption, Scottish Churchmen of various opinions came together for their country's welfare. It was prophetic of what became more and more possible of accomplishment as good men learned by co-operation to understand each other. Here, at any rate, was a piece of work that a strong and so far unanimous Church could achieve when isolated and despised societies were bound to fail. The case was clamant. On one Sunday in Edinburgh, 312 out of 975 licensed houses were found open. Out of a population of 155,680, 22,202 men, 11,981 women, 4631 children under fourteen, and 3032 under eight were seen to enter. Such a revelation was even more shocking to lovers of the Scottish Sabbath than it was to believers in Temperance. Duncan M'Laren, then Lord Provost of Edinburgh, was lay leader of a movement for reform. A Bill was introduced into the House of Lords by Lord Kinnaird, and afterwards into the Commons by Mr. Forbes Mackenzie, member for Liverpool, which at any rate dealt with the most notorious abuses. Besides closing all public-houses on the Lord's Day (except to meet the needs of *bona-fide* travellers), it abolished the obnoxious system of selling spirits in grocers' shops for consumption on the premises, placed licensed houses more strictly under the regulation of the police, shut them from 11 p.m. till 8 a.m., reduced drinking facilities at toll-bars, and separated the issue of beer and spirit licences. There was scarcely any opposition in either

Forbes Mackenzie Act.

House of Parliament, and the measure received the Royal Assent in August 1853.

That an enactment which has come to be regarded as a standing feature of the Scottish social system should be so recent in its origin may be a surprise to some. Why was there no corresponding movement in England to check the scandal of Sunday drinking? Because religious England did not awake as Scotland undoubtedly did at that period to the fact that the higher sanctities of her life were being invaded by an insidious public evil. It was Sabbatarianism on its best side far more than Temperance or Teetotalism that led to the passing of the Forbes Mackenzie Act, though from this time forth the interests of religion and those of social reform became ever more closely allied. A long and weary fight was to go on for sixty years till the Local Veto on the Liquor Traffic was won, but this was the first successful blow struck in the struggle against what Moncrieff, the Lord Advocate, then described in the House of Commons as "a great and crying moral evil which almost overshadowed every other evil that existed in Scotland."

By 1853 there were more than 400 Scottish abstaining ministers. Each Church had now a Personal Abstinence Society for the clergy. The Press was actively at work in the interests of Temperance. Coffee-houses—the vogue of the tea-room was not yet—were being provided as counter-attractions to the public-houses in Glasgow and elsewhere. The movement was passing beyond its initial stage, with the inevitable accompaniment of cranks and fanatics, into one worthy of general respect, relating itself more and more to progressive politics and the essential principles of Christian philanthropy.

9. The United Presbyterian Church

Union of Secession and Relief.

The occurrence of the Disruption accelerated a movement which had begun nine years before for the union of the Secession and Relief Churches. Friendly intercourse and growing harmony of conviction on most subjects made it difficult for the two bodies to keep

formally apart any longer. Yet there were some barriers to union that only time and tactful negotiation could remove. The Relief had but 118 congregations as against 400 in the Secession, and the older and larger communion seemed likely to absorb the smaller one. There was a sternness of discipline among the Seceders not to be found in the Relief, with its less rigid standard. To this day there are curious differences to be traced between the congregations that sprang from the one or the other side. If the men of the Relief were more liberal, those of the Secession were more staunch in their adherence to the old paths, and perhaps more inclined to preserve the primitive spirit of Scottish piety. Everything was to be gained by the union of Churches, in which each brought a distinct individuality into the common stock of Christian experience, and very soon it came to be recognised that United Presbyterianism was something better as well as bigger than either. The name chosen for the new Church was too long for popular use, and U.P. was soon adopted as an abbreviated title, though never, of course, officially recognised. To the last, respected fathers of the denomination spoke with dignified deliberation of the United Presbyterian Church. There was practically no opposition to the union, joyfully celebrated in Tanfield Hall on May 13, 1847, and it was a happy augury that the same edifice which witnessed the birth of the Free Church saw the inauguration of the sister Church with which its destinies were one day to be closely associated. Upwards of three thousand were present at the consummation. The venerable Dr. Kidston of Glasgow, then in the eightieth year of his age and the fifty-eighth of his ministry, was chosen as the first Moderator of the United Church.

Basis of Union.

The Basis of Union[1] consisted of the creed held in common by Scottish Presbyterians, with three notes of special testimony: (1) The disavowal of any intolerant and persecuting doctrines that might be found in the Westminster standards; (2) an article on Free Communion; and (3) a declaration of the duty and privilege

[1] See Appendix B.

of Christian giving. The first was an act of homage paid to the cause of civil and religious liberty for which both Churches had strongly contended. The second was a concession to the Relief which had ever been true to the words of Thomas Gillespie, its founder: "I hold communion with all that visibly hold the Head." And the third was an assertion of positive Voluntaryism as the true principle of Church extension and support. Free Communion was defined as "not loose or indiscriminate communion, but the occasional fellowship in the Lord's Supper of persons respecting whose Christian character satisfactory evidence has been obtained that they belong to other religious denominations." This falls decidedly short of Gillespie's large-hearted utterance, and was too evidently designed to meet Seceding scruples while opening the door cautiously to a wider fellowship. As the Relief Church had never, like the Secession, given any sanction to the practice of Covenanting, a statement was included which implied its respectful and honourable burial, and instead of declaring Presbyterianism, as in 1820, "the only form of Church government founded on and agreeable to the Word of God," the acceptance of it was simply based on its being "founded on and agreeable to Scripture." Thus in several important respects the 1847 Basis of Union indicates more definite progress than the Free Church formula of 1843.

Policy of U.P. Church.

The United Presbyterian Church did not enter on its career with any clear national programme except to extend its principles as opportunity afforded throughout the land. It was preserved from the temptation of launching another Church extension scheme, and so engaging in profitless rivalry with the Free Church and the Establishment. In fact, the field of advance which might in other circumstances have been open to its efforts was so fully occupied that thenceforth it was mostly in the large towns and among the increasing populations across the Border that it found scope for any possible growth. Indeed, in some of the country districts there was urgent reason for uniting former

Relief and Secession congregations which could not now justify their separate existence. The whole conception, however, of a purely national Church had come to be foreign to what may be called the United Presbyterian genius. In some respects that genius had more affinity with the spirit of English Free Churchism than with the ideals of Scottish Presbyterianism represented by Candlish and Robertson, and this continued to be the case so long as uncompromising Voluntaryism remained in the very forefront of its testimony. This was peculiarly so during the first twenty years of its history. The repudiation of Voluntaryism by the Free Church leaders was regarded as a challenge, and for a while the U.P. Synod seemed bent on applying it even to the educational sphere, limiting the State to the provision of secular instruction and leaving religious teaching to Church and family.[1]

Emphasis on Popular Element.

If United Presbyterianism had any distinct mission for the Scotland of that time it was to liberalise Church politics, to give a democratic turn to the ecclesiastical machine that had run too long in the grooves of a stiff conservatism. The Free Church and, later, the Established Church herself were to fall more or less into line with that tendency, but they showed no sympathy with it at first. Therefore the early U.P. Church almost over-emphasised the popular element. It preferred a large and rather unwieldy annual Synod, of which all the ministers and an elder from each congregation were members, to a representative General Assembly; it would not consent to the nomination of its Moderator by a conclave of the wise and prudent, but left the choice to the rank and file on the first day of the Synod meeting; it showed little favour for the Free Church plan of electing deacons for life, and made a practice of choosing managers for a fixed period only. Synodical Committees were originally nominated in haphazard fashion on the floor of the house, and only when this ultra-democratic method was discovered to be playing into the hands of officialism was a selection committee ap-

[1] *Minutes of Synod*, 1850.

pointed. There were leaders of debate who gained their influence by ability to grasp the situation and so direct the Church's action, but at no time was any one man looked up to as the indispensable guide of the Synod. Any minister or member of the Church had a right to present an overture to the supreme Court, a privilege generally confined to the Presbytery. The Rules and Forms of Procedure, sanctioned in 1850, constituted a handbook of Church Law that was plain and accessible to all. A certain element of independency undoubtedly characterised the working of the U P. Church, and was most of all apparent in its congregational finance. This made a policy of centralisation very difficult, and the idea of a Sustentation Fund, with its principle of virtually compulsory assessment, did not commend itself to the average United Presbyterian. His favourite plan was to " supplement " small stipends, and the need for this was urgent enough. Before 1847, salaries of £40, £60, £80, were not uncommon. A real forward step was suggested in 1850, when a committee on " The Better Support of the Gospel Ministry " dared to mention £150 as a minimum, but several years passed ere that became practical politics. The anomaly of large stipends in city charges and beggarly pittances for the country pastors was at its worst in a Church which often left weak congregations to struggle on as best they could.

Preaching Tradition.

A great preaching tradition was part of the U.P. inheritance. It was by earnest proclamation of the Evangel that the people had been gathered under the banner of Secession and Relief, and the authorised manner of delivery had long been the verbal memorising of a carefully-written-out discourse. But in 1849 the Synod was face to face with an agitation against the practice of " reading " which, sanctioned by the example of Chalmers, Wardlaw, Anderson, and others, had become alarmingly common in the pulpits of the Church. It at once appeared that the Synod was sharply divided on the subject. A motion declaring the reading of discourses from the pulpit to be contrary to the practice of the Church and enjoining Presbyteries to take care

that their brethren did not deviate from the ordinary practice except in cases where for reasons shown leave might be asked and obtained, was put against another that " as it is the consuetudinary law to deliver sermons from memory, read discourses being the exception, the Synod does not find it necessary to make any further declaration on the subject at present," and the former carried by 121 votes to 115. Whereupon Dr. Anderson of John Street, Glasgow, asked whether this meant that he was now to be prevented using his MS. as formerly, and the Synod was good enough to make it clear that its censure did not apply to " such ministers as have been accustomed in time past to employ this mode of address." Lord Cockburn has an interesting note in his *Journal* of that date[1]: " Almost every one of the good preachers I have known have read their sermons —Struthers, Hill, Inglis, Thomson, Chalmers. The action of the Synod is thoroughly Scotch, but excludes them from the admiration of the judicious." Of course the case for entire liberty in this matter has long been won, but it is worthy of note that just as the old and unnatural practice of committing sermons *literatim et verbatim* has died out, a new and more natural method of speaking from notes has taken its place. Preachers to-day are no more faced with the alternative of reading or memorising (the latter not inaptly described as " reading from the back of the head "), and are therefore readier to venture on a free style of speech, while there must always be those who find reading what they have written the most effective way of delivering their message.

Introduction of Hymns.

The Relief Church had adopted a hymn-book so far back as 1796—the first in Scotland—and the Secession had been considering the propriety of following suit before the union took place in 1847. So a new and enlarged book of praise was a certainty, and it appeared after much revision in 1851 as *The United Presbyterian Hymn-Book*. As the last important hymnal to be published north of the Tweed before the influence of the High Church revival affected the standard of taste, it

[1] *Journal*, vol. ii. pp. 244–5.

merits some notice. So little were the compilers moved by literary considerations that the 460 hymns were arranged simply in order of the Scripture passages on which they were based, printed with scarcely any regard to the original text, and confined almost wholly to productions of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Watts, Doddridge, Wesley, Cowper, Newton, Montgomery, and the authors of the Scottish paraphrases furnished the staple material of the book, though we do find in it Keble's morning and evening hymns printed for the first time in a Scottish manual of praise. Nevertheless, with all its faults, the book did much to broaden the range of Presbyterian devotion and to familiarise worshippers in the U.P. Church with the great masterpieces of what many still consider the golden age of English hymnody.

Missionary Progress.

We have seen that the missionary spirit found early expression in the congregations of the Secession and Relief. Jamaica and Kaffraria were the fields to be first cultivated, the work being carried on by societies in Edinburgh and Glasgow as well as by the Church proper. The Secession favoured more and more the organisation of directly Church missions; the Relief was rather disposed to support the societies. In May 1845 the Secession Synod established a Mission Board and appointed the Rev. Andrew Somerville of Dumbarton its first agent, having charge to begin with of the Home, Foreign, and Financial departments. "When I came to Edinburgh," he wrote in his autobiography, "the Synod had only eight foreign congregations and two stations in Jamaica, two in Trinidad, and twenty-four in Canada, with a home and foreign income of £5961." The Canadian congregations passed over into the U.P. Church at the Union, and were ultimately united with the "Presbyterian Church of Canada" in 1861. In 1847 the Scottish Missionary Society and the Glasgow African Society handed over their missions in Jamaica and Kaffraria, and the United Church was thus enabled to commence its foreign missionary work with considerable éclat, and also an element of romantic adventure.

For these were the dawning days of an enterprise that has always been dear to the heart of United Presbyterians—the mission to Old Calabar. It originated in Jamaica, and was really in its start a beautiful link of brotherhood between the converted slaves of the West Indies and their degraded kinsfolk in Western Africa. The *Warree* sailed from Jamaica early in 1846 with the first missionaries—Hope M. Waddell at their head—who were welcomed by King Eyamba of Old Town and King Eyo of Creek Town. They had a terrible battle to fight with a deadly climate, savage customs of the most hideous kind, brutalities and superstitions unspeakable. But after less than four years' work human sacrifices were abolished, and the first convert, Esien Esien Ukpabio, who became the first native teacher, was baptized by the Rev. Hugh Goldie in October 1853. The baptism of the king's son at Creek Town speedily followed, and the native Church began its history by these two converts sitting down at the Lord's Table.

An ardent missionary enthusiasm was manifested at home, and the sum expended for work in the various fields rose from £8991 in 1847 to £12,818 two years later—so far quite the largest total devoted to such a purpose by any Scottish Church. We have said that the United Presbyterian Church did not set out to be a national Church like its neighbours. It was therefore more free to expand beyond its native pale. In seeking to win all nations and peoples for the Evangel of Christ, it discovered its sphere of greatest influence.[1]

Leaders.

One is struck by the variety and versatility of those who led the Church during this period. Glasgow, perhaps, always a stronghold of Voluntaryism, was most to the front in the persons of Anderson, Beattie, Eadie, King, Robson, and Struthers. These men ministered to large congregations, some of them quick to gain the ear of their fellows from the City Hall platform; others more expert in debates in Church courts or in the skilful use of the pen. In Edinburgh and other parts of the

[1] *History of the Foreign Missions of the Secession and United Presbyterian Church*, by J. M'Kerrow, D.D. (1867).

country, Dr. John Brown and Peddie of Bristo, Edinburgh, Harper and Smart of Leith, Henderson of Galashiels, and Renton of Kelso were well-known figures. Renton, Moderator of Synod in 1851, was a true type of the stern and unbending Voluntary, inflexible in logic, earning the respect of opponents and the admiration of friends by his absolute consistency and clear-eyed honesty. No man rose so quickly in the estimation of his fellows as John Cairns, of whom the author of *Rab and his Friends* wrote so early as 1846: "He is Augustine, Calvin, Jonathan Edwards, and himself, all in one." Yet he had only been a year minister at Berwick-on-Tweed. His comrade, William Robertson, was already preaching wonderful sermons at Irvine. John Ker, after labouring for a short time under the ducal shadow of Alnwick, one of the English outposts where young United Presbyterians were often accustomed to win their spurs, began a great work in Glasgow in 1851.

The census of 1851 enumerated an attendance of 159,000 at United Presbyterian places of worship.

10. Outside the Main Current

Scottish Episcopacy.

Scottish Episcopacy was not much affected by the Disruption. Any sympathy it might have had with the principle of spiritual independence—not without illustration in its own recent history—was more than counterbalanced by antipathy to the ultra-Puritan type of Presbyterianism evolved in the struggle. But within its own borders there was a good deal of activity, and it registered considerable progress during this decade, increasing to 134 churches with an attendance of 27,000. A project, long in contemplation, to establish in Scotland a well-equipped College that would be at once a high-class public school and a training-place of candidates for Holy Orders, took shape at last in 1844, when a site was selected at Glenalmond in Perthshire, a romantic Highland parish that came to be better known to the world before the century ended as the "Drumtochty" of Ian Maclaren. It was a strange spot to choose for a

centre of Episcopal propaganda, but there a stately pile of buildings arose in which W. E. Gladstone and others took much interest. Charles Wordsworth, nephew of the poet, looked upon as a coming man in Anglican circles, came north in 1847 to be the first Warden. If Trinity College, Glenalmond, did not quite fulfil the expectations of its founders, its erection and the opening shortly afterwards of cathedrals at Perth and on the isle of Cumbrae, were to a certain extent signs of the times. Episcopacy in Scotland was becoming visible and self-assertive. Wordsworth became Bishop of St. Andrews in 1853, and no Englishman could have devoted himself more thoroughly to the Church of his adoption. Six years before, Alexander Ewing had been consecrated Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, and Alex. P. Forbes Bishop of Brechin, both notable personalities in their way, and representing opposite tendencies in the Church. A dispute with William Palmer of Magdalen College, Oxford (one of the Tractarians who ultimately went over to Rome), on the question of communion with the orthodox Eastern Church, caused a flutter for a while that the Presbyterian historian finds difficult to appreciate. Dr. Neale in his *Life of Bishop Torry* declares it the most important controversy in the Church since the agitation of the Non-Jurors, but both may be regarded as antiquarian rather than living issues.

Much more actual was the contention of the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond, the Rev. Sir William Dunbar, and several more — some ten clergymen in all — for independent recognition as English Episcopalian ministers in Scotland. They objected to the use of what they considered the anti-Protestant Scottish Communion Office, desired to be free from the jurisdiction of the Scottish bishops, and sought to be placed under the control either of the Archbishop of Canterbury or of the English and Irish bishops from whom they had received ordination. Their position was a very awkward one, for once they became Episcopal clergymen in Scotland they were by an old rule disqualified from officiating in England or holding a benefice there. On

the other hand, the Scottish bishops naturally resented the presence in their dioceses of clergy of their own order who declined their jurisdiction. A pamphlet war raged from 1842 onwards, and the strife culminated in a debate in the House of Lords on May 22, 1849, when Lord Brougham presented a petition from the aggrieved clergymen asking for redress. The upshot was that the Archbishop of Canterbury and other prelates declared their willingness to relax the rule that pressed so heavily on the objectors. Thenceforth they were fairly sure of a refuge in England when they found the situation in Scotland intolerable, but for a considerable time longer these independent Episcopal congregations continued to be looked upon as schismatical by the Scotch bishops, till at last a more tolerant spirit prevailed, and they were gradually absorbed in the national communion.

The famous letter which Mr. Gladstone addressed at the end of 1851 to Dr. Skinner, Bishop of Aberdeen and Primus of the Church in Scotland, is not only an important incident in his personal development, but significant in that of the Scottish Episcopal Church. He wrote in the character of a Scottish Churchman, and discussed in the frankest manner the functions of laymen in the Body of Christ. Old Martin Routh, the President of Magdalen, saw in the letter such a clear committal to Liberal principles as made Gladstone in his opinion no longer possible as Tory member for Oxford University. In the view of Bishop Wordsworth he carried his speculations and reasonings to such a length as to leave no solid standing-room between the principles of religious liberty he was recommending and the separation of Church and State. But the Scottish Episcopal Synod meeting in 1852 showed itself willing to consider one of the most important of Gladstone's suggestions. It passed a resolution—"That the admission of the laity into ecclesiastical synods under certain conditions and to speak and vote therein on a large class of ecclesiastical questions is not inconsistent with the Word of God nor with the constitution of the Church." So the way was prepared for action later on.

Statistics of Smaller Churches.

There were 858 places of worship in Scotland in 1851 outside the Church of Scotland, the Free Church, and the United Presbyterian Church, with a total attendance of 141,000 as against 802,000 in the main Presbyterian bodies. This reckoning includes about twenty different persuasions and some nondescript agencies. In Chapter I. we have indicated the relative strength of the various minor denominations, and this did not tend greatly to alter with the lapse of time. Congregationalism, for instance, remained at about 100 churches,[1] sometimes a little over it, till 1896. The Evangelical Union represents the chief addition to the number of the sects. The Original Seceders were reduced by rather more than one-half through the union of the other half with the Free Church. But in Scotland with all its sharp denominational distinctions there has always been an overlapping that confounds the exact statistician. For instance, there is evidence that David Livingstone belonged to a Wesleyan mission in his native village of Blantyre, and regularly received a class ticket while keeping up his connection with the Congregational Church to which his father belonged. Mr. Ross in his *History of Scottish Congregationalism* mentions that in 1848 the Congregational Union claimed to be no more than a Christian and Home Missionary Society. The very fixity of Presbyterian organisation tended to make the others (except, of course, the Episcopal and Roman Catholic) more fluid.

II. Literature

The quickening influences of this period, and especially the opening of the mind to big spiritual questions in all their bearings, had a direct effect on literature. Men began to turn afresh to the records of the past for justification, and to think out some of the issues that loomed ahead. They did so with little of the historical or critical spirit, and therefore we do not find much per-

[1] Nearly as many more congregations claimed to be "independent," *i.e.* outside any organisation.

manent value in their work; but, at any rate, the long frost of mental stagnation was beginning to break, and not a little deserves to be noted as interesting and significant.

The Periodical Press.

Passing over the purely ephemeral publications, official and non-official, that poured lavishly from the Church press, there has to be mentioned the appearance in 1844 of a new quarterly, the *North British Review*, that was the most notable literary fruit of the Disruption. From the beginning it was able to hold up its head without shame among its older competitors. This bold venture to claim and cultivate the wide provinces of science and literature in the interest of evangelical religion was a new thing at the time and prophetic of much to follow. Chalmers stood sponsor to the *Review*; Welsh was its first editor, and those who succeeded him —Maitland, Fraser, and Hanna—continued to guide it along safely liberal lines, with a catholic list of contributors that came to include Sir David Brewster, Isaac Taylor, John Cairns, John Tulloch, and John Brown, M.D. *M'Phail's Literary and Ecclesiastical Journal*, which dates from 1846, may be said to have attempted a similar service for the Established Church, but with less completeness and success. It contained some clever writing, for most of which Robert Lee was responsible, but was marred by an acerbity of tone from which the *North British Review* remained singularly free. Norman Macleod was beginning to see great possibilities in providing a broadly Christian literature for the masses, and, in 1849, he undertook the editorship of the *Edinburgh Christian Magazine*, which deserves mention as a very humble precursor of *Good Words*.

History.

The appetite for history was keen, but it had to be history based not so much on careful research as on sympathy with what were considered the central issues of the day. Hence the extraordinary vogue of Merle d'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation*, the translation of which took Scotland by storm both by its force of picturesque writing and its strenuous polemic against Rome. Hetherington's histories of the Scottish Church

and of the Westminster Assembly were composed too evidently with the Disruption in view. Scarcely any interest was shown in the history of the pre-Reformation Church. Welsh's posthumous lectures (1846) were a solitary and so far creditable attempt to explore the ancient field from a Scottish chair. The ablest pens were busy with the history of the time, and naturally they had not the proper perspective. The Duke of Argyll in his *Presbytery Examined: An Essay Critical and Historical on the Ecclesiastical History of Scotland since the Reformation* (1848) was among the first to study the subject in the light of a wider horizon, though his peculiar foible of omniscience is manifest here as in his later works.

Theology.

Theology was more alive as an inspiring principle of Church life than as a regulative force in religious thought. The humblest Scottish peasant regarded himself as an authority on "The Headship of Christ," but no one attempted a worthy theological treatment of the theme. The oracles were still sought among the divines of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries; the application had to be found in actual experience. William Gillespie of Torbanehill busied himself with the *a priori* argument for the Divine existence; the philosophy of Sir William Hamilton was suggesting new questions to the student mind; German theories of religion were considered too dangerous to meddle with. Yet in 1850 two books were published which still deserve perusal—Dr. William Anderson's *Regeneration* and M'Cosh's *Methods of the Divine Government*—the one the work of a strong, original mind on a central doctrine of the faith, the other revealing the powers of an acute if somewhat scholastic thinker. Pre-millenialism was ably demolished with orthodox weapons by Dr. David Brown in his *Second Advent* (1846), and Wardlaw on *Miracles* (1852) is an excellent specimen of bygone apologetics.

Biblical Literature.

But the best work of this period was done in the sphere of what was then called Biblical Literature—literature concerned with the study of the Bible in general and in particular. Biblical Theology was as

yet a term unknown in its modern sense, and the same may be said of Biblical Criticism. But Patrick Fairbairn, minister at Saltoun, afterwards a Free Church professor and principal, produced in 1845 an elaborate work on *The Typology of Scripture*, much esteemed in its day, though now obsolete in standpoint, and by his translations contributed to Clark's Foreign Theological Library he did valuable spade-work in the German field. His commentary on *Ezekiel* (1851) also merits notice. Candlish's *Lectures on Genesis* and Bonar on *Leviticus* show how the Pentateuch was profitably expounded in the pre-scientific age. There were serious beginnings, however, in the direction of Hebrew scholarship. In 1851 the Free Assembly enacted, with the consent of a majority of Presbyteries, that "no student shall be enrolled as a student of Theology unless he has gone through a full academic course of literature and philosophy, and *has acquired a knowledge of the elements of the Hebrew language*." A pioneer book appeared in 1852 —*An Analysis and Critical Interpretation of the Hebrew Text of Genesis*, preceded by a Hebrew Grammar and a Dissertation on the composition of the Pentateuch and on the structure of the Hebrew Language—by Rev. W. Paul, A.M., Parish minister of Banchory-Devenick. But much the richest Biblical contribution was made by two professors of the United Presbyterian Church—Dr. Brown and Dr. Eadie. This was Brown's most active period of authorship, and his *First Peter* (1848), *Discourses and Sayings of Our Lord* (1850), *Our Lord's Intercessory Prayer* (1850), and *The Resurrection of Life* (1852), are examples of the finest expository work of the Scottish pulpit in days when Sabbath forenoon lecturing was a potent educational influence. If Brown thus represents the flower of old Presbyterian culture with a perceptible modern colouring, Eadie stands out as a breaker of new ground in two departments. His *Biblical Encyclopædia* (1849) was the first handy one-volume Bible dictionary, a marvellous compilation in its way, and his *Commentary on the Greek Text of Ephesians* (1853) marked the rise of a more

critical style of exegesis, kept within soundly orthodox lines by himself and Ellicott (whose *Galatians* appeared in 1854), soon to be carried to the verge of rationalism by Stanley and Jowett. Morison on *Romans IX.* also deserves notice as much more than an apology for the E.U. view of St. Paul's teaching on Election, revealing as it does the skill and insight of a born Bible commentator. A real contribution to New Testament learning of a different kind was the treatise of James Smith of Jordanhill, a layman of the Established Church, on *The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul* (1848), which speedily took its place as the standard work on the subject not only in England but in Europe. It was translated into German by Thiersch, and is adduced in Hermann's well-known work on Greek Antiquities as the decisive authority on the difficult points connected with the study of ancient shipbuilding.[1]

Comparative Religion.

In the field of comparative religion, afterwards to be so fruitfully cultivated by missionaries and others having a first-hand knowledge of non-Christian faiths, one notes an early effort of no little value—the work of Dr. John Wilson of Bombay on *The Parsi Religion*, published on the eve of the Disruption. Dr. Wilson's splendid record as an Orientalist, a missionary statesman, and an educational administrator, has been obscured by the more widespread fame of Dr. Duff, but his distinction as a scholar and an investigator was really greater. In 1845 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, and in 1847 published *The Lands of the Bible*—a book which still repays study for its thoroughness and evidence of personal research.

Science and Religion.

It was a favourite task of the theologians and the believing scientists of this decade to reconcile the seeming differences between science and religion, especially in the realm of Geology. Hugh Miller made this his special province. Sir David Brewster and Professor Fleming of Aberdeen (afterwards of the Natural Science Chair in New College) were also active in this line, and

[1] See Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, chap. xxiii.

there were ministers such as Dr. King of Glasgow who did some more or less amateur work. A bombshell fell in 1844 when *Vestiges of Creation*, by Robert Chambers, appeared anonymously, first making the British public acquainted with the idea of evolution as applied to the history of the earth and of its living forms. It was vehemently attacked from both the scientific and religious side. Miller replied to it in *Footprints of the Creator*; Brewster slated it in a violent *North British Review* article. The value of the book lies in its crude anticipation of Darwin by an independent Scottish thinker; it was extensively read, but neither the Church nor the world were yet prepared to doubt the cosmogony of Genesis or to accept the hypothesis of development as against special creation.

Biography.

The publication of the *Memoirs of Chalmers* in 1851 was an important literary event. Among biographies of great Scotsmen it ranks as only second to Lockhart's *Scott*; as the life of a religious leader it stands in the first rank. Dr. Hanna's work has not yet been recognised at its real value, especially when it is remembered that along with the Memoirs he was responsible for the editing of the Correspondence and of a whole library of Chalmers posthumous literature. Chalmers was so large and many-sided a personality that his life can bear to be rewritten for future generations. Hanna wrote, perhaps, too soon after his death to be able to present him in just relief to posterity, but his monumental effort will long abide. Two other biographies of this period—that of *M'Cheyne*, by Andrew Bonar (1844), and of *Heugh*, by MacGill (1850)—are indispensable for the student of the times, and M'Cheyne still lives as a spiritual classic.

George Gilfillan.

Lastly, some note must be taken of the work of George Gilfillan, who in the opinion of many competent judges made his most characteristic contribution to literature between 1843 and 1852. His *Galleries of Literary Portraits* (First Series, 1843; Second Series, 1850), *Bards of the Bible* (1851), and *Martyrs and Heroes of the Scottish Covenant* (1852) certainly contain the cream of his distinctive genius. Views will probably always

differ as to his true place among Scottish authors. He rose high at the outset with the popularity of the "spasmodic school" to which he belonged. Then he sank, and was accounted by some a cheap rhetorician. Of late his reputation has tended to rise again, though not to its original height. He might have had a more brilliant and worldly-successful career if he had not chosen to be bound by credal and pastoral fetters in the town of Dundee. John Brown wrote of him in 1849: "He has the vision and the faculty divine, and like many others is a gone man by being a minister. He is not a man to go sweetly and meekly in harness, as all our clergy must." To the last he remained somewhat of a phenomenon—a fervent literary prophet in the sober garb of a Seceder.

12. Public Events

Free Trade.

The triumph of Free Trade in 1846 was the dominating public event of this period. How much religious passion lay behind the agitation for the cheapening of the people's food may be realised by studying the rhymes of Ebenezer Elliott, and by the saying of John Bright that Peel "put the Lord's Prayer into an Act of Parliament." Scotland did not take the matter quite so seriously as that. Such an attitude would have seemed horribly profane to the ministers of the Established Church, who complained that the repeal of the Corn Laws had taxed the clergy to the amount of from £60,000 to £70,000 per annum, and reduced their stipends by a third. Outside the privileged classes, however, the reform was welcomed. Too much may have been hoped for it, for it was no remedy for the hunger of a population that seldom or never tasted bread, and so did not prevent the appalling famine of 1847 in the Scottish Highlands any more than in Ireland. This gave the Church her opportunity to come forward liberally for the relief of the destitute folk. The sum of £15,000, raised by the Free Church alone through one day's church-door collections, marked a record in Scottish charity.

One would have expected the heroic campaign of

Lord Ashley (who became Earl of Shaftesbury in 1851) for the passing of urgent Factory legislation to have been backed up strongly by the Church. But he complained in 1844: "The saints who agitated against negro slavery abroad seem indifferent to the hardships endured by the children of British artisans." There was great reluctance to interfere with the supposed rights of capital, and good men bound by hard economic theory had not their eyes opened yet to the social Gospel of Jesus Christ. The Free Church Commission in 1846 went as far as it dared: "Resolved, *without expressing any opinion on the Factory Bills which have been before Parliament*, to address a communication to Lord Ashley setting forth the sense they entertain of the great importance of the service he has rendered to the cause of humanity and the benefit he has thereby conferred on his country." We cannot fail to see here a trace of snobbishness as well as timidity. The Church was ready to compliment a distinguished nobleman, but declined to decide as to the wisdom or rightness of his proposals. She had yet to learn that it was her duty to examine such grievances, and do her utmost for their redress.

Factory Legislation.

The Maynooth grant made by Peel in 1845 for the benefit of higher Roman Catholic education in Ireland was a far more burning question with Scottish Churchmen than the Factory Acts or any other schemes of social reform. Here was the old enemy again—Popery claiming endowment out of the public funds. Those who would willingly have accepted a similar favour for Presbyterianism were as bitter against Maynooth as those who rejected all such State doles to religion. Therefore Church and Dissent were absolutely united in protesting against the grant. Macaulay lost his seat for Edinburgh over the matter. It remained a scandal in the eyes of Protestant Scotland till the Irish Church Disestablishment Act swept away the Maynooth grant and much besides.

Maynooth Grant.

A private discovery made in Edinburgh in 1847 by an eminent physician, a lay member of the Scottish Church, is looked upon now as an event fraught with

A Great Discovery.

the most beneficent consequences. James Young Simpson discovered the anæsthetic power of chloroform in the house, 52 Queen Street, which by a generous gift of the Simpson family has now become a hospitable Church Club.

Europe in 1848.

Accustomed as we now are to an experience of unprecedented world-upheaval in our own time, it is difficult to go back to 1848 and find even a remote parallel then. Yet it is good for us to know how Christian men thought and felt at that crisis. We quote from an article in a Scottish Church periodical towards the end of that year:[1] "The entire European system formed on the ruins of the ancient Roman empire is undergoing the agitation of dissolution, preparatory, it can scarce be doubted, to the evolvement of a new system. Despotism has been dashed in pieces; the reign of diplomacy has well-nigh passed away; the power of mere privilege is nearly gone. It is scarcely possible that these departed powers can revive and resume their sway in Europe as before. Time has sapped them—the human mind has outgrown them—progressive life has burst them and cast them aside. Religion alone, the pure, true, living religion of the Bible, freed alike from Popish superstition and German rationalism, can revive and reconstruct a paralysed and shattered Europe. But we see no reason to think that the nations are yet ripe for such a blessed consummation."

Nor indeed were they. The dream of the revolutionists was shortlived. Authority regained the upper hand, and rebellion was slowly but surely crushed. Europe has not seen from that day to this a general uprising of the peoples against despotic governments. Individual nations have won their freedom, but that still needs to be guaranteed against the crushing force of militarism. In 1848 our country could look on, calm in her own inviolateness, and in the security of her liberties, on the welter of a Europe vainly struggling to be free. Now, we are too deeply involved in the destinies of the whole world to be merely passively sympathetic.

[1] *Free Church Magazine*, December 1848.

Our mission is to achieve the final redemption of humanity from the double curse of tyranny and war. In the working out of that deliverance the Church, by her larger spiritual message, is summoned to take a more active part than was possible seventy years ago.

AUTHORITIES FOR CHAPTER III

In addition to those quoted for the preceding chapters and the books referred to in the text, mention should be made of the following: Lives of *Robert Buchanan* (N. L. Walker), *John Cairns* (MacEwen), *William Cunningham* (Mackenzie and Rainy), *Robert Lee*, vol. i. (R. H. Story), *Norman Macleod* (Donald Macleod), *Hugh Miller* (Peter Bayne); also Lady Frances Balfour's *Life of the Earl of Aberdeen*, Sir James Graham's *Life and Letters*, and *The Disruption Worthies: A Memorial of 1843* (1876).

The following may be consulted with advantage: *The Church of Scotland, Past and Present*, edited by R. H. Story (1890), chaps. xxxi.–xxxiii.; *History of the Atonement Controversy in the Secession Church*, by A. Robertson (1846); *History of the Scottish Episcopal Church*, by W. Stephen (1896); *History of the Scottish Poor Law in Connection with the Condition of the People*, by Sir George Nicholls, K.C.B. (1856); *History of the Temperance Movement in Scotland*, Anon. (1858); *Scottish Education—School and University—from the Earliest Times*, by John Kerr, LL.D. (1910).

The Acts of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for this period are meagre in content, and have not been well preserved. They are, of course, to be found in the National Library of Scotland at Edinburgh, and in the Library of the Church, but there is not a complete set in the British Museum. The Bodleian at Oxford is better off in that respect. *The Proceedings*

and Debates of the Free Church Assembly form a full and valuable source, and they have been well edited from the beginning after the style of Hansard.

For no part of this history is one more dependent on the fugitive literature of magazines and newspapers.

CHAPTER IV

1853–1863.—MENTAL AND SPIRITUAL AWAKENING

DURING the decade which now calls for our attention the work of material reconstruction rendered necessary by the Disruption gradually ceased to be the main concern of Scottish Churchmen. The rebuilding of the outward fabric still continued, even to the point of excess, but there was more inwardness in the progress made. This was a period of intellectual, social, and religious awakening, with the issues not yet quite clear and the foundations of the old orthodoxy only slightly disturbed. Though, on the whole, a time of transition rather than advance, there was a stirring of thought and life in all directions. A policy of isolation was no longer possible. World-currents of spiritual influence were beginning to mingle with the native stream and to cause a perceptible moving of the waters. There was a revival of national consciousness, a zeal for missionary expansion, and a growing desire for Church unity. Seeds were sown, often in silence and obscurity, which were destined to yield a rich harvest.

1. Scotland in 1853

The most conspicuous change in the face of the country as compared with ten years before was undoubtedly the revolution in communication brought about by the railway system. What in 1843 was little more than a sure prophecy was now an actual fulfilment. Nearly 1000 miles of line had been laid down. All the chief cities and towns, except Inverness in the north,

The Railway Revolution.

were linked to each other by rail, and the English border was reached in one and a half hours from Edinburgh and three hours from Glasgow. Two main routes were open to London. The mail coaches had vanished, and it was possible to travel between the two capitals by express train in less than twelve hours.

Spread of Ideas.

But of greater significance than the new ease and swiftness of transit was the more rapid spread of ideas. Hitherto Scotland had, as a rule, been proudly indifferent to the characteristic thought and feeling of the South. Distance certainly did not lend enchantment to the view. Now, nearness led to a clearer understanding and a wise receptiveness, if also to a merely imitative tendency less healthy in its results. A fear lest this Anglicising process might undermine the foundations of northern nationality found expression in a variety of ways, notably in the "National Association for the Vindication of Scottish Rights," which held a great demonstration in Edinburgh on November 1, 1852. It is curious to observe that its chief spokesmen were strong Tories, like the Earl of Eglinton, Sir Archibald Alison the historian, and Professor Aytoun, the Radical Lord Provost of Edinburgh (Mr. Duncan M'Laren) being the only progressive leader on the platform, neither the members of the House of Commons nor the clergy taking any prominent part. The movement was sharply opposed by *The Scotsman* and the official Whigs, yet its programme came afterwards to be generally accepted —the appointment of a Secretary for Scotland, more M.P.'s for north of the Tweed, a larger share in public grants, and a proper regard for the few remaining memorials of national independence. At that time, however, Scottish politics were dominated by a party clique which hated nationalism as a troublesome fad, and the Church was still too divided to speak forcibly from that standpoint.

Rivalry of the Churches.

The persistent rivalry of the Kirks was too manifest a feature of the situation. Though the population between 1841 and 1851 had not increased by more than 269,000, the places of worship had multiplied to such an

extent that the accommodation was considerably greater than could possibly be used. There was really one-third more than would have been required had everybody gone to Church. In almost every parish a Free Church was planted alongside the Established Church, and one could scarcely find a town or large village in the Lowlands where a United Presbyterian edifice did not also appeal for popular support. Notwithstanding this multiplicity there was still complaint of deficient supply of ordinances in crowded city parishes and new industrial districts. A general redistribution of resources was considered inconsistent with loyalty to principle. Sentimental and sectarian causes perpetuated the existence of separate congregations even within the same denomination. It cannot be denied, however, that this very superabundance of religious facilities fostered an intensity of devotion and sacrifice in places where pure zeal for evangelical truth and real fidelity to conviction transcended the unholy spirit of competition.

Industrial and other Advance.

Industrialism had greatly developed the national wealth,[1] especially in the production of iron, which rose from 197,000 tons in 1840 to 810,000 tons in 1849, but the problem of poverty became all the more acute. The operation of the new Poor Law led to an increase of expenditure on relief from £295,332 to £535,868 in 1853. Education still fell far short of due State recognition, though the Government grants to the new Free Church schools went a good way towards supplying the immediate need. The Public Libraries Act, passed in 1850, chiefly through the instrumentality of Mr. William Ewart, M.P. for Dumfries Burghs, was perhaps not so necessary in Scotland, with its higher standard of education and more prevalent reading habit than in England. Not till 1856 did a Scottish town (Airdrie) adopt the Act.[2]

[1] See Mackintosh's *History of Civilisation in Scotland*, 1888; Craik's *Century of Scottish History*, 1901.

[2] Dundee adopted it in 1866, Paisley 1867, Aberdeen 1884, Edinburgh 1886, Glasgow not till 1899.

A Scottish Premier.

For the first time since the premiership of Lord Bute (1762–63), Scotland in 1853 could boast of having one of her sons at the helm of the State. The Earl of Aberdeen was a man of the highest Christian character. He had played a not unimportant part in the crisis of 1843, and his name will always be associated with the Act which regulated the election of parish ministers for thirty years after. He was now at the head of a Coalition Cabinet, which against his better judgment was drifting into a foolish and fruitless war.

2. Intellectual Movement

The theological immobility which marked the Church before and for a good while after the Disruption gradually gave way through the working of various causes. One was the increasing number of men whose thoughts were of necessity turned towards religious questions and issues. Many more ministers were required to fill the new and the old pulpits. Well-equipped colleges in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Aberdeen attracted the promising youth of the Free Church. The Theological Faculties of the Universities offered special advantages to candidates for the Established Church ministry. The reorganised United Presbyterian Hall offered a very fair curriculum of training under less exacting conditions, students being required to attend for only two months in the year. Examination of statistics reveals the fact that this period broke the record of enrolled theological students in Scotland, which has scarcely reached a higher figure since. And the quality was on the whole high. Able as well as earnest men realised a high vocation and an exceptional opportunity. The teachers belonged as yet mostly to the past generation, and few of them had much magnetic power, but the influence of such as Cunningham, Duncan, John Brown, and James Robertson (all of whom ended their labours before 1863) was strong even upon minds that could not think in their grooves. And the stimulus was all the sharper when

Theological Education.

young men, less bound to the old traditions, found their way into the theological chairs.

The first of these was John Tulloch, who became principal and primarius professor of St. Mary's College, St. Andrews, in 1854, at the early age of thirty-one. The title of his inaugural lecture on "Theological Tendencies of the Age" [1] does not now indicate a challenge, but it called forth a criticism in one of the organs of his own Church which shows that it was so interpreted then. "If by theology we are to understand the truth of God, we do not see that the age can have any truly theological tendencies at all" (*Church of Scotland Magazine*, 1855). The same sapient critic dissented *in toto* from the idea of doctrinal development which Tulloch mildly approved. This address, indeed, sounds quite a new note in Scottish theological thought. It speaks of "the long period of miserable inaction during which the rights of critical science were not only unacknowledged, but its very existence unknown among us," pleads for "a clear and thoroughly Christian understanding" with these claims, quotes Schleiermacher with sympathy, and yet holds fast to the Bible as "the ultimate determining authority in religious truth." It is worth comparing this utterance of Tulloch with another inaugural lecture given the same year by Professor Smeaton at Aberdeen on "The Basis of Christian Doctrine in Divine Fact," as illustrating the contrast between the old and the new points of view. As a rule, however, the teaching in the Halls of the Church of Scotland was of the familiar and drily conventional type. Robert Lee in Edinburgh would probably have been an advanced critic had he lived twenty years later, for his mind was cast in that mould. Philosophic rather than historic Broad Churchism was the distinctive note of John Caird, who after a brilliant career in the pulpit was appointed to the Glasgow Chair of Theology in 1862. His famous sermon on "Religion in Common Life," preached before Queen Victoria, was greatly overpraised at the time.[2]

John Tulloch and Others.

John Caird.

[1] Published, Edinburgh, 1855.

[2] Dean Stanley called it "the greatest single sermon of the century."

Its importance lies in the departure it made from the accepted style of dogmatic preaching. Caird's theology was found fault with in orthodox circles as being "too palpably an impress of the present generation." [1]

Free Church Professors.

The earlier appointments to Free Church Chairs were of "safe" men who might be trusted not to depart in the slightest degree from strict Confessional lines. Fairbairn, who became head of Glasgow College, was a diligent scholar with a better knowledge of German than most professors of this time, but it cannot be said that any general appreciation of the modern standpoint was reached till a much later date. An additional count in the indictment against the Established Church was that it tolerated dangerously broad theology. The appointments of A. B. Davidson to the Chair of Hebrew (1862) and of Robert Rainy to that of Church History (1863) in New College, were more significant than the men who made them knew, and the former in particular was fraught with great consequences for Biblical scholarship and Theological progress.

A Student Revolt.

It was through the blazing indiscretions of an ultra-orthodox professor that the first revolt took place in the interests of freer thought. Dr. Candlish made few mistakes as a Church leader, but he did make one when he proposed and carried James Gibson as a professor in Glasgow College. Gibson was a hard worker, a vigorous speaker of the polemical order, and a sincerely conscientious man—absolutely in the wrong place, however, as a teacher of Theology in the nineteenth century. His keen scent for heresy and utter lack of sympathy with modern ideas brought him very soon into collision with his class. A group of seven men, among whom Robert Howie, afterwards a leader in evangelistic work, was the most prominent, was treated as suspect, and their essays and discourses (on "The Unity of God" and "The Scripture Doctrine of Human Depravity") subjected to an inquisition which they strongly resented. The result was an inquiry by the College Committee, followed by a discussion in the Assembly of 1859.

[1] *U.P. Magazine*, 1858.

Gibson complained that never before had a professor of Theology in Scotland been so put on his defence, and he endeavoured to prove that serious issues were involved. Begg spoke warmly in his support, but the Assembly could not find any evidence of erroneous doctrine. Rainy made his first great speech, in which he maintained that this was a matter which required imperatively a psychological treatment. The students escaped with a kindly caution, and the first real check was given to the spirit of heresy-hunting. It is rather interesting to note that Archibald Henderson, who rose to be principal of the same College nearly forty years later, distinguished himself in the class of these days by drawing a sketch portrait of the unpopular professor ![1]

The United Presbyterian Church was undisturbed by any suggestion of unsoundness in its ministry. In 1858 the Evangelical Union issued a new doctrinal declaration, both to show that they had liberty to enlarge their creed if they pleased, and to state more fully their theological belief.

University Activity.

We must look, however, to the Universities as the chief scene of the nascent activity of speculative thought. It has to be borne in mind that all Scottish theological students have from the first had to undergo some measure of philosophical training before entering on their special course. Hitherto, the teachers of Logic and Moral Philosophy had generally confined themselves to the platitudes of accepted text-books, but Sir William Hamilton in Edinburgh and Ferrier in St. Andrews really stimulated thinking on broader and more independent lines. Hamilton in his main positions did not go much beyond the previous teaching of the Scottish school. It was his doctrine of the Relativity of Human Knowledge that seemed to affect Theology injuriously, and some of his ablest students were stirred to questioning. Ferrier, on the other hand, propounded what was then the novel theory of absolute idealism, and must be

[1] See *Proceedings of Free Church Assembly*, 1859; Reminiscences by Dr. Howie in *Life of Professor Flint*, pp. 68–69; article by Professor Stalker in *British Weekly*, November 25, 1926.

regarded as the father in Scotland of that Hegelian tendency which for a while exerted a potent influence. The contest between Campbell Fraser and Ferrier for the Logic Chair in Edinburgh (vacated by Hamilton's death in 1856) resolved itself into a struggle between orthodox and heterodox philosophy.[1] Cairns entered the field as a champion of Fraser, whose victory was hailed as a triumph for evangelicalism and an important step in preserving the Universities as the home of sound doctrine. The relaxation of the Test system in 1853 made it, however, more difficult for the Church to control the election to the Chairs in the Arts Faculties, and there was a growing feeling in favour of emancipating the national seats of learning from local and sectarian control. Their reform on a large scale was long overdue. Hanna truly said in 1855 that "250 years ago, when Scotland had a fourth smaller population and was vastly inferior in wealth, our Universities had almost exactly the same intellectual furniture as at this day."[2] A Royal Commission of inquiry was appointed, and its investigations led to the changes sanctioned by Parliament in 1858. These were by no means radical or at all beyond the immediate urgencies of the case. The growing claims of science were scarcely recognised. Only one subject—English literature—was added to the stereotyped Arts curriculum. But a higher value was given to graduation, and the institution of University Courts and General Councils led to greater efficiency and the introduction of a popular element into the management. The grants of money, though increased, were still quite inadequate. The time was not yet ripe for a compulsory entrance examination, though a voluntary one was provided by which clever students could escape the drudgery of the junior classes and so shorten their course of study.

A reform in elementary and secondary education should have gone hand in hand with reform of the University system, but this was still delayed by lack

[1] A. J. Scott of Manchester was also a candidate.

[2] *Proceedings of Free Church Assembly*, 1855.

of earnestness in the State and lack of unity in the Church.[1] Our section on the Literature of the period will show how the intellectual movement of the decade was affected by contemporary English thought. Robertson of Brighton, Frederick Denison Maurice, Charles Kingsley, and A. P. Stanley represented the zenith of Broad Church influence, reflected in Scotland by Tulloch, Caird, and Norman Macleod. The significance of Newman and the High Church revival was not yet understood. Nor was the scientific revolution to be wrought by Darwin discernible on the horizon, and German critical theories were only just beginning to receive attention. Scotland was thinking out her evangelical creed more clearly and in a more spacious atmosphere, but was by no means inclined to exchange it for any other.

3. Religious Revival

General Revival Movement.

The Revival influences which were so evident in Scotland in 1858–61 were part of a wave that spread from America over the English-speaking world. Dr. M'Lean of Lafayette College, Pennsylvania, addressing the Free Assembly in 1858, described the movement in the United States as " the most decided and extraordinary the world ever saw since the days of the apostles. A traveller might go for 3000 miles, stop where he would in town and country, and there was no place where he might not turn aside to go into a prayer meeting." All the Colleges were affected, and the offers for Foreign Missionary service were numerous. Much interest was excited by the reports which crossed the Atlantic and by the visit in 1859 of Mr. Hammond, an American evangelist. Cunningham in his Moderator's address of that year went so far as to say that in his judgment " no revival movement was to be compared with this since the

[1] By an Act of 1861 the status of schoolmasters was raised and their emoluments increased, while teachers were thenceforth only required to give a pledge that they would teach nothing contrary to the Bible and Shorter Catechism. But " the mechanical barbarism " of the Revised Code enacted that year was really a set-back to progress.

great Reformation of the sixteenth century." By that time the North of Ireland had been stirred to its depths, and many Scottish ministers visited Ulster to study the happenings there. In fact, Ulster Presbyterianism felt the main force of this tide of spiritual enthusiasm, and it never reached quite the same height or revealed the same peculiarities in Scotland or England. Still the effects were very manifest, especially in the cities (Edinburgh, Glasgow, Aberdeen), on the north-east coast among the fisherfolk, in the Highlands, and in some districts of the west.

Lay Evangelism.

What differentiated this from all previous revivals in Scotland was the prominent part taken by lay evangelists. These were of two classes: (1) Gentlemen, often of wealth and social prestige, landed proprietors, lawyers, English University graduates, leading merchants, who appealed to more or less educated audiences; (2) working men, including some converted from vicious and even criminal courses, whose message had more power with the uninstructed masses. Among the former, Brownlow North, Reginald Radcliffe, and Hay Macdowall Grant of Arndilly were conspicuous. James Turner, a fish-curer; Robert Annan, a runaway soldier; and Robert Cunningham, who had been a prize-fighting butcher, were representative of the latter class. Donald Matheson, a stone-hewer, did a great work, particularly in the Highlands, and Richard Weaver, a collier from the English Midlands, had much success in his widespread evangelistic tours.

Brownlow North.

Brownlow North, who was son of a prebendary, grandson of a bishop, and grand-nephew of Lord North, a Prime Minister, had been a gay man of the world. After his spiritual change he became an impressive preacher of the English evangelical school, and he commended himself highly to the Free Church leaders by his work in the North of Scotland and elsewhere. "Rabbi" Duncan declared him to be "an untrained theologue," laying emphasis on the last word. An influentially-signed overture was presented to the Assembly asking for his recognition as a lay evangelist.

The occasion was felt to be an important one. A committee, consisting of all the professors and three weighty doctors of divinity, was appointed to converse with Mr. North and report as to "the soundness of his views on the great essential truths of salvation." The inquiry was pronounced thoroughly satisfactory, and without a dissenting voice he was "welcomed as an evangelist who may be freely asked by ministers of the Church to preach to their congregations." [1]

Reginald Radcliffe.

The case of Mr. Reginald Radcliffe was significant in another direction. This able and devoted lawyer-evangelist held services in Aberdeen with the aristocratic approval of the Duchess of Gordon and Lord Kintore. University students flocked to his meetings, much interest was aroused, and the Rev. James Smith of Greyfriars Parish opened his church to the Mission. But the Presbytery objected to such acknowledgment of a mere layman, and succeeded in temporarily closing the doors of the Kirk against his unauthorised ministrations. The matter went to the Church of Scotland Assembly of 1859. Lee, whose reforms in worship were the great theme of controversy that year, had no patience with this kind of innovation, and wanted the Assembly to adopt a policy of absolute prohibition. Norman Macleod took the liberal view that might be expected of him, and Robertson, while maintaining a very cautious attitude, said he would rather cut off his right hand than do anything that could be interpreted as preventing lay preaching. The result was the passing of a motion which threw open the doors of Greyfriars, in Aberdeen, to the special week-night services of Mr. Radcliffe without appearing to do so. "The Assembly declare only that the practice of preaching the Word of God and conducting the other solemn services of the sanctuary by persons not duly appointed to the office of the ministry in the Church ought not to be countenanced by the courts or ministers of the Church." [2] It was expressly indicated in debate that this placed no barrier in the way

[1] *Proceedings of Free Church Assembly*, 1859.
[2] *Acts of General Assembly*, 1859.

of the Christian liberty of ministers to employ lay friends to address meetings. A specimen this of a kind of motion too much favoured by ecclesiastical courts which, while seeming to be stubbornly conservative, deliberately left a loophole for freedom of action.

The Free Church hailed with warm sympathy the manifest signs of awakening. In 1861 the Assembly's Committee on Religion and Morals reported that 42 Presbyteries testified to decided revival within their bounds, and 25 to increased attention to and interest in spiritual things. Nixon of Montrose found encouragement in the fact that "the converts in proportion to the satisfactory evidence of their charge were uniformly and remarkably Calvinistic." If the laymen were only orthodox in the faith, no objection was raised to their preaching from the pulpit. It was about this time, however, that Brethrenism began to exert a disintegrating influence. Liberty of prophesying, an excellent thing in itself, brought inevitable perils with it, and the more evangelistic a minister was, the more trouble was he likely to have with excitable and emotional people who had come under strong religious impression. And the lively and subjective type of hymn which now came into popular use induced a phase of piety somewhat removed from the sober gravity that had been nurtured on the Psalms.

Brethrenism.

Church of Scotland Attitude.

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (1860) could not but express gratitude for the Revival, while careful not to commit itself to the endorsement of all its accompaniments. Special watchfulness and prayer were enjoined in regard to the progress of vital religion in the parishes. Dr. Bisset of Bourtie quoted a learned sheriff who ascribed to the Revival a vast increase in the number of lunatics and even in the number of petty thefts! And the same Assembly found it necessary to appoint a committee to investigate "the great and increasing amount of immorality in rural districts." This was attributed by Free Church evangelicals to the evil tradition of Moderatism still surviving in some parts of the country, and the "cold morality" of that school was deemed a far worse thing than its exuberant

reaction in a somewhat crude revivalism. Yet it was within the Established Church that the most notable instance occurred of extreme developments arising out of evangelistic activity. The Rev. William Gebbie of Dunlop, Ayrshire, was libelled by fifty-seven heritors and parishioners for extravagances in speech and practice that seemed to endanger sound doctrine, and that were certainly startling novelties to appear in such a quarter. Physical phenomena of a disturbing kind were not wanting; hymns were sung to "unwonted and fantastic tunes"; and the minister expressed himself in rather wild language. He was accused of asserting the damnation of children, and that only the converted were entitled to pray to God and join in the ordinances of religion. As usual in such cases there was much mutual misunderstanding, and the matter came before the Assembly of 1862. But the Church had learned a good deal since the summary treatment of the Row "manifestations" in 1830. A committee presided over by Dr. Muir succeeded in calming the storm. Mr. Gebbie expressed regret for unguarded statements made, was admonished to be "careful to behave himself in all things wisely and prudently, and to avoid occasions of unseasonable and unscriptural excitements." Men were now beginning to feel that room must be found in the Church for varied and even eccentric gifts and graces if there was essential loyalty to Christ and His Truth.

All the Churches felt the breath of the new life in greater or less degree. It was stated in the United Presbyterian Synod that one out of every four of the communicants in the entire Church was present at a monthly, fortnightly, or weekly prayer meeting. The most permanent results of this Revival period are to be traced in such institutions as Carrubber's Close Mission in Edinburgh, which commenced its beneficent career under James Gall, who was by an Act of the Free Church Assembly in 1861 taken on trial for licence, and in the Mission Churches, especially in Glasgow, which received a very definite impetus.

Permanent Results.

Dr. James Wells, who began his ministry about this

Testimonies.

time, bears testimony : " The distinguishing peculiarities of the Revival of 1859 were its permanence, simplicity, catholicity, and democracy. People of all classes had an influential share in it. The ministers had among their helpers noblemen, professors, students, farmers, day labourers, and many devout women. Some of the experiences were like an appendix to the Acts of the Apostles. It was then demonstrated that a living faith needs no sensational special methods." [1] A witness of another kind, Dr. William Robertson of Irvine, noted " how religious feeling glorified and refined the roughest natures," as in a mining village of Ayrshire, " where the women grew to look like Madonnas and both men and women sang like angels." [2]

4. Beginnings of Worship Reform

Tradition of Scottish Worship.

For more than two hundred years the worship of the Scottish Church had been conducted on rigidly Puritan lines. The Reformation did not discourage a reasonable use of prayer forms, but the reaction which followed upon the ill-advised project of Charles I. and Archbishop Laud to foist a liturgy of Anglican origin on the nation was of the most pronounced description. The Westminster divines were far more conservative of catholic doctrine than of catholic worship, and even the provisions of their somewhat bare directory were largely neglected in later times. Everything in the service was subordinated to the sermon. The liberty of free prayer degenerated into an unedifying licence. Psalms were droned rather than sung. There was no systematic reading of Holy Scripture. Symbolism of any sort was set down as idolatry. Preachers of genius and real devotional faculty redeemed the service from its prevalent baldness, but in the hands of the average minister it was apt to be dreary and uninspiring. That it survived so long in that form is due to the fact that it too became a venerable tradition and was associated with the spirit

[1] MS. furnished to the author.
[2] *Life*, by James Brown, D.D., p. 186.

of protest against Popery and Prelacy. As a tradition it gathered to itself a certain austere beauty and solemnity, and this was specially manifest at Communion seasons, which had a peculiar and impressive ritual of their own, glorifying humble sanctuaries and green hillsides.

Innovations in Praise.

As the praise of the Church was the most defective part of her worship, it was in connection with Music and Psalmody that the first whisperings of reform were heard. Paraphrases and hymns made their appearance in the eighteenth century, but did not come into common use till much later. Two premature attempts were made—in St. Andrew's Parish Church, Glasgow (1807), and in Roxburgh Place Relief Chapel (1829)—to introduce the organ into Divine service, and it is interesting to find that the earliest instrument, played only on one day, was constructed by James Watt, the famous engineer.[1] But the almost unanimous opinion of the time condemned the innovation. The pioneers of the organ in Scotland were Dr. Ritchie of St. Andrew's, Glasgow (afterwards Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh University), and Dr. William Anderson of John Street Relief Church in the same city. Anderson lived to see the triumph of the cause which he championed as early as 1829. In a pamphlet of that year, reprinted in 1855, he set forth in a nutshell the common objections—the mere circumstance of innovation, the feared relapse into Popery, the material nature of the organ as unworthy of the spiritual genius of Christianity, and the dread of destroying congregational singing. Anderson's trenchant pen had no difficulty in disposing of these. The question rested till 1856, when Claremont United Presbyterian Church, Glasgow, under the ministry of Dr. Alexander MacEwen, introduced an organ into their new place of worship and petitioned the Synod to sanction it. That year may be said to mark the beginning of the agitation for Worship Reform in Scotland, for Dr. Lee followed in 1857 with his innovations, which led to a new Ten Years' conflict.

[1] But in 1845 the congregation of Dr. Lindsay Alexander (Independent), Edinburgh, purchased an organ for use in their service. See Lord Cockburn's *Journal*, vol. ii. p. 138.

In the United Presbyterian Church it was a case of the organ pure and simple, and the opposition to it was based not so much on principle as on breach of uniformity of practice and fear of distracting division. The motion which was carried (against a considerable minority) ran: "Inasmuch as the use of instrumental music in public worship is contrary to the uniform practice of this Church and other Protestant Churches in this country, and would seriously disturb the peace of the Church, the Synod refuse the petition and enjoin Sessions to use all judicious measures for the improvement of vocal psalmody." Just the year before, the Synod had appointed a special committee on Psalmody, which proceeded very vigorously to work. John Curwen, founder of the Tonic Sol-fa system, was invited by it to visit Scotland, and his campaign was a great success. Very large classes were formed, special teachers engaged, and a real revival of Sacred Music took place which spread to all the Churches. The names of James Rennie of Dalkeith, afterwards of Glasgow (who lived to be the patriarch of the United Free Church) and William Thomson of Slateford were intimately associated with this movement. The advance in congregational singing undoubtedly arrested for a while the growing demand for the organ as an aid to praise. But Claremont Church persevered, and hoped at least to get the permission of the Synod to use their instrument on week-days. The decision in 1858, however, was inexorable, and the organ doomed to remain absolutely silent till the cause of toleration finally triumphed in 1872. Meanwhile the Presbyterians in England were showing marked pro-organ tendencies, and the Free Church took alarm, threatening to break fraternal relations with their brethren in the South if they yielded to this temptation. Dr. Candlish went the length of republishing the arguments of both sides in the Glasgow case of 1807, with a preface in which he made the extraordinary statement: "For my part I am persuaded that if the organ be admitted, there is no barrier in principle against the sacerdotal system in all its fulness, against the

substitution again in our whole religious system of the formal for the spiritual, the symbolical for the real." There was a discussion on the question in the Assembly of 1858 in which, while no one ventured to plead for the organ, a small minority protested against the idea of narrowing the basis of catholic union by renouncing fellowship with Churches that introduced instrumental music. In the end nothing came of the threat.

Action of Dr. Robert Lee.

But larger questions were now coming to the front, and the movement led so boldly by Dr. Robert Lee now demands attention. Lee, who held the Chair of Biblical Criticism in Edinburgh University along with the charge of Old Greyfriars, was a man of strong individuality as well as rare pertinacity and undaunted courage—therefore well fitted to take the lead as a reformer. His was a complex personality. There is no reason to doubt the genuineness of his piety, though the bias of his nature was certainly not evangelical in the ordinary sense. He lacked sympathy with missionary effort, was impatient of orthodox shibboleths, apt to be flippant in tone and sarcastic in speech. His brethren distrusted his liberalism, and he got involved in a strange and unfortunate alliance with the secularism of George Combe and the scoffing spirit of *The Scotsman* newspaper, then engaged under the vigorous editorship of Alexander Russel in truculent warfare with the Free Church. Convinced that the public worship of the Church of Scotland was its weakest feature, Lee seized the opportunity presented by the reopening and restoration of his Church in 1857 to introduce a number of changes. There was irony in the circumstance that Greyfriars, which was the reputed scene of the Covenanting protest against Laud's innovations, should now become notorious for a recrudescence of liturgical forms. For Lee ventured upon a new order of service on a uniform plan, reading from a manual of his own compilation, inviting the congregation to stand at praise and kneel at prayer, also to take an occasional audible and responsive part. At once there arose a loud outcry of disapproval, for in the eyes of many, everything about the ordinary Scottish

ritual was sacrosanct, and any departure from it a violation of the Act of Assembly in 1707 condemning "innovations in the worship of God." Dr. Lee's practices were brought before the General Assembly in 1858, and the Presbytery of Edinburgh was enjoined to institute an inquiry. The publication of an enlarged edition of his *Prayers for Public Worship* stirred up the Presbytery to drastic action against the daring innovator, and by a majority of 23 to 20 they declared against him on all counts—postures, read prayers, responsive Amens, and even introductory sentences. He appealed to the Assembly, and the debate and decision there in May 1859 marked an important stage in the controversy. Lee had to discontinue the use of his printed prayer-book. It was undoubtedly an innovation, and so contrary to the law and usage of the Church. But the other changes were allowed to pass, and liberty was thus secured for a reasonable and gradual progress. Even this compromise was not agreed to without strong opposition. The vote was 140 to 110 for a general prohibition, and Lee's supporters were therefore entitled to hail the verdict as a triumph for their side. Prayers were still read in Greyfriars, though not from a book; the modified order of service went on without further interruption, and was copied elsewhere. Stained-glass windows (already introduced in Glasgow Cathedral in 1854) gave "a dim religious light" to the building. Then in 1863 instrumental music made its appearance once more in the Kirk of Scotland. Marshall Lang, who had been called before the Presbytery for "innovations" in the East Church, Aberdeen, attempted the use of an organ in the parish of Anderston, Glasgow. A few months later, Lee introduced a harmonium, and he now resumed reading prayers from the book he had compiled. A new phase of the battle was begun, that was to continue to the end of Lee's life and longer. Aberdeen, where Dr. Pirie's influence was paramount, gave forth the rallying-call to the fray. Dr. Bisset of Bourtie, who had taken a leading part in the Assembly which dealt with Lee's case, was Moderator in 1862, and his closing

address from the Chair was "a wonderful prediction of improvement in devotion, psalmody, and hymnody." [1] It was, in fact, a challenge to the still very strong party of resistance, and so was taken up in the year following. The Assembly was besought to secure as far as possible unity in public worship within the Church. Bisset moved for liberty, but was beaten by 141 to 91, a committee being appointed to consider the whole subject, while ministers were meantime recommended to refrain from changes likely to impair the peace and harmony of particular congregations. In the same month the Free Church Assembly, alarmed by the agitation "over the way," also appointed a committee "to consider generally the legislation of the Church on the subject of innovations in worship." For even there, and to a greater extent in the United Presbyterian Church, the old postures were being changed according to local desire.

Points Gained.

The points gained through the initial agitation were : (1) The practical settlement of the posture question ; (2) the introduction of a more catholic order of service ; (3) the attention directed to the profitable use of devotional forms. To us now the dispute about postures in prayer and praise seems almost ridiculous, and the Supreme Courts of the Churches had the good sense to avoid legislating on the subject, allowing a change of custom which was partly an instinct of reverence and partly an intelligent reversion to former practice, to come about naturally. Kneeling was a Scottish usage so long as the Book of Common Order was a guide to worship. In time it changed to a rather slovenly sitting, and then from Episcopacy was borrowed the more decent attitude of standing. In Queen Anne's day, kneeling, sitting, and standing were all observed. In the Orkney Islands the habit of standing at singing persisted from the Reformation onwards. The revival of congregational singing certainly tended to the popularity of this posture in praise. The arrangements of the churches made kneeling difficult, if not impossible, so sitting at prayer with bowed head became the necessary alternative if

[1] *Life of Charteris*, by Gordon, p. 248.

there was not to be standing all through the devotional part of the service.

The features which were most needed to restore the too largely lost catholic element in Presbyterian worship were a more systematic reading of Holy Scripture, a more worthy rendering of the praise, and more comprehensiveness, dignity, and uniformity in the prayers. In 1856 the Assembly of the Church of Scotland passed an Act reminding " all who laboured in word and doctrine that every congregation at each diet of worship should have access to the advantage of hearing a portion of the Old and New Testaments read, and that there should always be included in the service of every Lord's Day not only a sermon, but a lecture on a passage of the Holy Scriptures." This Act testifies to a previous neglect, but fails to recognise any need for devotional enrichment. Lee did valuable work in suggesting the supply of that need. We cannot regret that his individual contribution towards a new liturgy did not receive official sanction. As his biographer, Dr. Story, points out, some of his tastes and views were defective. He ventured to alter the *Te Deum*, " lacked higher devotional feeling, tender reverence for catholic usage, a subtle sense of rhythmic harmony and fitness." He had the faults as well as the virtues of a premature pioneer. Men turned from his somewhat frigid forms to the richer stores available in the ancient and modern Church. Already in 1858 the Assembly had allowed the publication by a committee of a book of *Aids to Devotion*, a collection of forms of service for persons at home and abroad when without a minister to guide them, and in 1863 it was formally recommended. The successive editions of this book reveal steady progress in adaptation and suitable expression. So far it was only in America that " Presbyterian Liturgies " had received special study.[1] To most Scottish Churchmen such a subject seemed almost a

[1] See *Eutaxia, or Presbyterian Liturgies*, by a minister of the Presbyterian Church, Rev. C. W. C. Brand, New York, 1855; and article on " The Liturgical Movement," by Dr. Charles Hodge, *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, April 1857.

contradiction in terms, but more was destined to be heard of it. In 1861 the Assembly took another forward step by sanctioning the publication of a very small collection of Hymns, the first since the Paraphrases of 1781.[1] It was reported two years after that they had been chiefly used in Sabbath schools and prayer meetings. Lee did not believe in the existence of more than a score of hymns suitable for use in public worship. Not till the rise of a new and somewhat sentimental type of hymn tune, dating from the appearance of *Hymns Ancient and Modern* (first edition, 1861), did hymn-singing become really popular in congregations as distinct from family, juvenile, and evangelistic gatherings. *Sacred Melodies for Children*, edited by Bateman & Gall, reached a circulation of a million and a half before 1862. It was for many years the hymn-book for Sabbath-school use in Scotland. Instrumental music also found its way into children's meetings long before it was allowed in the ordinary services of the sanctuary.

The great concern of the opponents of change was lest the already impaired unity of the Church should be further sundered by a schism on questions of worship. Time was needed to show that this was a needless fear, and that the growth of broadening opinion and feeling might be trusted to counteract divisive tendencies and lead surely and safely to something better than a barren and tasteless uniformity.

5. Ecclesiastical Tendencies

Lord Aberdeen's Act.

The working of Lord Aberdeen's Act as to disputed settlements in the Church of Scotland did not improve with time. It was certainly not a dead letter. Year by year objecting parishioners in various parts of the country took advantage of its provisions, and successive General Assemblies had to deal with voluminous appeals

[1] Four previous drafts had been submitted between 1855 and 1860. This consisted of eighty-nine hymns, besides doxologies, etc.

from the lower courts.[1] This came to be regarded as an annual nuisance, occupying far too large a portion of the Assembly's sittings, and leaving behind a sense of soreness and discontent, whatever the decision might be. The machinery was cumbrous and costly, the proceedings often trivial and vexatious, giving occasion for ingenious and eloquent pleas by legal and clerical speakers, but revealing more and more clearly that the patronage system lay at the root of all the trouble, and that there was no satisfactory intermediate course between absolute choice by the patron and election by the people. The far-seeing men in the Church began to perceive this. Robertson, as we saw in the last chapter, looked to Lord Aberdeen, on his accession to the premiership, to go the length of repealing the Act of 1712. And we find Norman Macleod writing to John Hope on January 25, 1854: "Our whole efforts should now be directed to union with the Free Church. If it is ever to be accomplished it ought now to be attained under Lord Aberdeen's régime. Given that patronage is knocked on the head, the thing is done with a few apologies, confessions, and 'new motives.'"[2] In the Glasgow Presbytery that year Dr. Gillan began a series of attempts to raise the whole question of patronage. But the Crimean War came on, and the Prime Minister had other things to think of than the solution of a Scottish problem that had already baffled him. Nor was the Church ready for any radical change. It was difficult for her to swing round to a new policy, especially one which might seem to justify the keen contention of her opponents. Yet it was impossible to sit still and do nothing. The Assembly had power to revise the regulations under the Benefices Act, and this was done in 1859. Just the year after, overtures were presented calling for more thorough reform, and though they were rejected, as were similar

[1] Up to 1862 there were thirty-nine cases of disputed settlement. Three ended in the withdrawal of presentees. In eleven cases presentees were rejected. Eighteen objected to were settled. In seven cases the result is not clear.

[2] *John Hope, Philanthropist and Reformer*, by D. Jamie, p. 299.

proposals later, the body of opinion against the continuance of lay patronage became stronger and stronger.[1]

Powers of Church Courts.

In 1862 Lord Belhaven, then Lord High Commissioner, introduced into the House of Lords a Bill "for removing doubts as to the powers of the Courts of the Church of Scotland, and extending the powers of the said courts." Its chief object was to facilitate dealing with cases of libel. Under the then existing law it was not certain whether the Assembly had power to suspend accused ministers on a libel against them being declared relevant, and so the scandal arose of men being allowed to go on administering religious ordinances while lying under serious charges of immorality or heresy. So it was proposed to confer this power legally, and also the right of applying to the sheriff to cite witnesses before Presbyteries in judicial processes. The measure was regarded with hostility by the Free Church and denounced as "Erastianism double-distilled." Candlish maintained that the first part of the Bill asked Parliament to confer spiritual power on the Church, while the last assigned a civil coercive power to ecclesiastical courts. He therefore induced the Free Church Assembly to petition against the Bill. In order to ensure its passing, the proposal as to the compulsory summoning of witnesses was dropped, and the rest of the Bill became law. So if the failure to secure for the Church the status of the civil courts in the matter of compelling evidence was a proof of the State's unwillingness to countenance an intrusive claim of jurisdiction, the success obtained under the other head was an encouragement to hope that in the spiritual sphere she might gain more liberty of action.

Ministerial Communion.

The action of the 1844 General Assembly in reviving the Act of 1799, and so barring the parish pulpits against Free Church and other Dissenting ministers, was too extreme to stand as more than a temporary measure, and it was slightly modified in 1845. As soon as the intensity of feeling caused by the Disruption began to

[1] The vote in 1860 was 60 to 31; in 1861, 147 to 51; in 1862, 145 to 91.

die down, the unreasonableness and uncharitableness of the restriction became apparent. After the opening, however limited, given to lay preaching in 1859, it was impossible to maintain the ban which prohibited non-Established, though fully ordained, ministers from officiating unless under humiliating conditions. Accordingly in 1860 a committee was appointed to consider "whether any Act can be passed in consistency with the laws and practice of this Church whereby the Church of Scotland may hold ministerial communion with other Evangelical Churches, and under what provisions the same may be safely granted." Even to this mild course of action there was strong opposition (the vote was 161 to 94), and not till 1863 was it agreed, by a majority of one only, to approve and send down an overture to Presbyteries proposing that ministers might admit to their pulpits ministers of other denominations holding the fundamental doctrines of the Confession of Faith, provided they shall conform to the mode of worship existing in the Church, and that the minister so admitting shall report to the Presbytery at its first meeting. It was a very cautious proposal, yet the first step towards a settled policy of liberal conservatism in this matter.

Tercentenary of Reformation.

The observance of the Tercentenary of the Scottish Reformation seemed to be a Providential occasion for rallying the divided hosts of Presbyterianism to a remembrance of their common origin. It shows how modern such celebrations are when we realise that between 1560 and 1860 there was no general effort to recall the momentous event. Still it cannot be said that the 300th anniversary was as national as it ought to have been. Not yet were the Churches prepared to come together even for such a purpose. The Scottish Reformation Society organised a commemoration in Edinburgh on August 14, 1860, which took place very much under Free Church auspices. Guthrie preached the opening sermon. Representatives were also present from the United Presbyterian, Reformed Presbyterian, and Congregational Churches of Scotland, and from the English and Irish Presbyterian Churches. A Canon of the

Church of England was among the speakers, and Father Chiniquy was there from Canada. But not a minister or elder of the Established Church took part in the proceedings. The foundation stone was then laid of the Protestant Institute on George IV. Bridge, in connection with which there had been acquired by the Free Church the Magdalen Chapel in the Cowgate, where the first General Assembly is said to have been held. The actual day of its meeting was December 20, which was recognised by all the Churches as "a day of public thanksgiving and humiliation," and, being a Thursday, was observed generally as a half-holiday. The opportunity was, however, lost of shaking hands across the bridge of history. The year 1843 was still too near for the right perspective of 1560. We cannot but feel surprise that the Church of Scotland made no attempt at this time to gain the ear or strike the imagination of the people. Her great rival knew much better how to appeal to the religious instincts of the nation and to make such a celebration effective for her own ends as well as for the larger interests of Protestant truth.

Cardross Case.

One reason why cordial co-operation was difficult at this juncture was the emergence of the Cardross Case, threatening to reopen the whole question of spiritual independence. In 1858 the Rev. John M'Millan, minister of the Free Church at Cardross, was accused of several moral offences, certain of which were found proven by all the courts—Presbytery, Synod, and Assembly. But in connection with one particular charge there was not the same unanimity. His Presbytery acquitted him of it, and its sentence was not appealed against. The Synod, however, and afterwards the Assembly, judged it fit to take up the entire case, and M'Millan, being found guilty on all the counts, was suspended from the ministry *sine die*. On the ground that a charge of which he had been acquitted in the court below was illegally revived against him in the courts above, he applied to the Court of Session for an interdict to prevent his congregation being declared vacant. The application was not granted, but the action of M'Millan

was naturally viewed by the Church as a challenge thrown down against the principle for which she had sacrificed State connection. Could a Free Church possibly hold together if any of her ministers were allowed to act thus, and so call in the power of the State to arrest spiritual discipline? The offender was summoned to the bar of Assembly, and, on the motion of Dr. Candlish, deposed on the spot. It was, perhaps, too summary a procedure, and further consequences might have been averted by conference with the culprit before the extreme step was taken. The immediate result was to drive him to a course of retaliation. He raised in the civil courts an action against the Assembly claiming the reduction of its sentence and heavy damages as well. The Lord Ordinary (Lord Benholm) dismissed the plea, declaring that it did not fall within the province of the civil courts to review ecclesiastical judgments. An appeal was taken to the Inner House, and there the first real crisis in the case occurred.

M'Millan asked as a preliminary that the defendants should be ordered to bring with them and produce the sentence, resolution, or proceedings, with the whole ground and warrants upon which these were based. The seven judges decreed that this demand must be complied with. Some thought there was an infringement here of the liberties of the Church, and that she ought to refuse. Better counsels prevailed, and the desired information was furnished without prejudice. Lord Deas delivered the leading opinion, which was acquiesced in by a majority of the bench. The right of the Court was asserted to set aside the sentence passed on M'Millan in so far as that stood in the way of damages being awarded, if they should subsequently be found to be due. No claim was made of authority to repone him in his charge, but only to suspend the sentence with reference to the pecuniary element contained in it. According to his Lordship, a Church till it received jurisdiction from the State was nothing more than a voluntary association without special privilege. Appeal was taken to the House of Lords against this judgment, but after all it

only laid down a principle to be further applied, and before the case reached Westminster, Lord President Hope made a pronouncement that considerably cleared the air. He advised the prosecutor not to continue on the line which he had been pursuing. The Assembly which deposed him had ceased to exist, and no money was to be expected from that quarter. If he really wished for damages he ought to bring a charge of malice against specified individuals. This reduced the plea to very small dimensions, and though M'Millan raised an action on the lines suggested, he made indirect overtures at the same time to the Church, indicating his willingness to drop the case altogether if some financial provision were made for him. No response coming to this "feeler" except a very strong repudiation from Dr. Robert Buchanan, M'Millan retired from the field, and the legal proceedings came to an end.

One searches the Free Assembly debates in vain to discover any elaboration of the case from the ecclesiastical side. That was not considered necessary. The standing argument of the Disruption was deemed more than sufficient against any idea of compromise. Candlish and the other leaders were very active in the pulpit and on the platform in defence of the Church's rights. The watchwords of the Ten Years' Conflict did effective duty once more, notably the Headship of the Church. There was no longer, however, perfect unanimity in the Free Church as to the application of that doctrine to the visible Church, which was vehemently contended for by the great majority. Hanna, on the contrary, backed by Walter C. Smith, held that the controversy with the Established Church did not touch the "Headship" as taught in Holy Scripture so as to give any true ground for saying that the one Church upheld and the other denied the doctrine. "The whole question at issue between us has respect alone to the function and government of the Church, regarded as an external organised society."[1] This is about the first conciliatory note to

[1] Sermon on Principles of the Free Church, 1859.

be heard after the defiance of 1843, and it met with slight response at the time.

Influence of Cardross Case.

The Cardross case, just because it ended in a *fiasco*, had no inconsiderable influence for good on the after course of events. If it had gone to the House of Lords on a wider issue and a decision had been given there adverse to the Free Church claim, as is quite probable, a new root of bitterness would have sprung up to trouble Scotland, and any prospect of restored unity blighted almost beyond cure. There was a belief in some quarters that the leaders of the Church of Scotland saw in this litigation a chance of putting their rivals to confusion, and that funds were secretly provided to enable the deposed minister to carry it through. If there was ever a thought of such a thing, further reflection must have brought conviction of its folly. No honour was to be won by espousing the cause of a man who defied the moral discipline of his Church, and no credit was to be gained by fighting a battle for principle on the paltry question of damages for an individual. Lord President Hope had been a prominent actor in forcing on the Disruption. He helped to redeem his reputation by making the Kirk see plainly that it was not worth while to wage legal war with those who had "gone out." Thenceforth the wiser heads in the Establishment gave themselves more definitely to the task of setting their own house in order, and so pointing the way to reunion. Another excellent result was to convince the Free Church that she could no longer afford to pose as the sole champion of spiritual independence in the land. United Presbyterians and others had rallied to her side in this battle, and if, as was feared, this was likely to be followed by other difficulties of a similar kind, strength had to be sought in closing up the still divided ranks of Scottish Presbyterian Dissent.

Church Union.

So we pass to the first great movement towards Church Union. We can trace its beginnings in the personal efforts of Sir George Sinclair of Ulbster, an elder of the Free Church. By letters in the Press, the publication of a pamphlet in 1856, and by endeavours

to bring men together, he did much to develop the desire for union with the United Presbyterians. In 1857 he arranged a gathering of a dozen leading ministers in Edinburgh to confer on the situation, and in the same year he promoted a lay manifesto of no little significance. A hundred and fifty names of distinction stood committed to the view that the time had come for serious consideration of the subject.[1] Among the influential signatories on both sides were Lords Breadalbane, Kintore, and Panmure, Sir T. M. Brisbane, Mr. Murray Dunlop, Charles Cowan, M.P. for Glasgow, John Brown, M.D., John Henderson of Park, Duncan M'Laren, David Paton, and Peter Coats. The number of those signing grew to 1671.[2] This influential expression of lay opinion roused the alarm of Professor Gibson. He carried an overture in the Glasgow Free Church Presbytery, which if it meant anything pointed to a vote of censure on those who thus sought to forestall the action of the Church courts. In the Assembly, Lord Panmure and Murray Dunlop were not slow to vindicate themselves, but there was a general feeling that discussion at that stage was perilous, and the fathers and brethren deliberately refused to enter upon it. But the effect of the manifesto on the public mind was not to be checked by ecclesiastical caution, and one event after another tended to justify it. Perhaps the most potent was the union of the Presbyterian Churches in Victoria, Australia. There the elements corresponding to the three main streams of Church life in Scotland resolved themselves (April 7, 1859) into one. This was not accomplished without strong opposition on the part of a few Free Church dissentients who broke off and formed a body claiming to be the legitimate inheritor of its principles as against Voluntaryism on the one hand and Erastianism on the other. Their action was discouraged beforehand by the leaders of the Assembly at home. "We tell our separated brethren

[1] The question was boldly faced: Was it right and expedient for the two Churches to remain apart when they had no sufficient reason to show for their not being united?

[2] See A. Thomson's *Life of Principal Harper*, p. 228.

that in our opinion their position is untenable." [1] Nevertheless, they sent a representative, the Rev. W. Miller, to Scotland to plead their cause, and the degree to which he succeeded in enlisting Free Church prejudice on their side was shown by the fact that the large Synod of Glasgow and Ayr almost unanimously overtured the Assembly to recognise the Australian minority.

A Critical Decision.

It was therefore a crucial question that had to be decided in 1861 : Was the Free Church of Scotland to be anchored for ever to the circumstances and conditions of 1843, so that she must bind herself to approval everywhere of a narrow sectarianism which refused to advance with the times rather than to hearty recognition of efforts to attain a larger and comprehensive evangelical unity ? There lay implicitly here the alternatives of petrifaction or progress, the difference between the policy of the Church Catholic and the encouragement of schism. Wise leadership was called for and was forthcoming. It was the last and one of the greatest services that William Cunningham rendered to his Church and to Christendom when he guided the Assembly by a masterly speech to a right decision. Gibson moved for the recognition of the minority, the forerunners of the " Wee Frees " of later times. Cunningham, with a passion born of intense conviction, simply annihilated his arguments and laid down principles which were destined to have a far-reaching application. " The Erastianism of the Established Church," he declared, " does not lie in its standards," implying that separation from it might only be temporary, and was inexcusable where no danger existed of State interference. " There is nothing in the formula of the United Presbyterian Church to which I have any objection. I could sign it myself," clearly pointing to the next step in his Church's forward movement, though he was not to live to take it, and he dreaded the controversy now distinctly looming ahead. By 361 to 64 the Assembly recognised the United Church as

[1] Letter to the Moderator and Brethren of the Free Presbyterian Synod of Victoria, signed by Cunningham, Candlish, and others, November 1857.

standing in the place of the Synod of the Free Church of Victoria, while expressing perfect willingness to enter into friendly relations with the dissentient brethren provided they abstained from claiming the position formerly occupied by the Free Presbyterian Church of Victoria. The spiritual *entente* that had come about through the Revival, and the Cardross affair already referred to, were additional factors which proved that the time was nearly, if not altogether, ripe for action at home as the logical consequence of what had happened abroad—in Nova Scotia and Canada proper as well as in Australia.[1]

United Presbyterian Action.

The United Presbyterian Church was prompt to take advantage of the favourable omens. Her history was itself a preparation for such a consummation as seemed to be near; the unions of 1820 and 1847 gave good augury of success on a larger scale. The evil of competition between two denominations so like each other was too patent. Ardent Voluntaries hailed the possibility of a combination which would secure the definite triumph of the Free Church principle broadly understood and applied. John Cairns cherished the nobler if Utopian vision of "a great Presbyterian Church as wide as the English language and as comprehensive as Episcopacy—a Church which, while separately organised in different countries, should be one in basis and spirit, taking the Reformed Faith as its creed, simplicity as its guide to worship, and the Bible as its supreme standard, but which both in formation and administration must be independent and free from constraint by civil powers."[2] His residence at Berwick, a vantage point for both England and Scotland, helped to give him a wider outlook than most of his brethren. There were already signs that divided English Presbyterianism was ready for unification, and one feature of the movement now to

[1] In 1860 the Free Church Synod of Nova Scotia united with the old Secession Synod and formed *The Synod of the Presbyterian Church of the Lower Provinces.* In 1861 the Free Presbyterian Church of Canada joined with the United Presbyterian Church to form the *Canada Presbyterian Church.*

[2] *Life,* by MacEwen, pp. 501, 502.

be inaugurated was its comprehensive aims. These had inevitably to be narrowed, and Cairns was not slow to see that union with the Free Church was the first line of advance to be sought. His own relations with that Church had always been of the friendliest, and overtures had been made to him in 1857 to accept a chair in the New College. As early as 1858 we find him writing in favour of "a closer political as well as ecclesiastical alliance," and as soon as the project of union became a practical question he stepped into the position of a trusted though never a conscious leader. In 1861 an overture from a session in Paisley came before the Synod, but was set aside as premature. Opinion in the Church rapidly ripened, and in a speech at Newcastle on January 28, 1863, fully reported and commented upon in the Scottish newspapers, Cairns made the important declaration that "the time for union between the Free and United Presbyterian Churches had now arrived, that such a union was desirable, practicable, and obligatory, and in particular that the only existing divergence between the two Churches, a different view of the Civil Magistrate's duties in regard to religion, need not be a hindrance, as neither Church made this a term of communion." He followed up the speech by carrying an overture in the Berwick Presbytery, which with two others—from Lancashire Presbytery, and the Session of Broughton Place, Edinburgh—raised the matter in all its aspects at the Synod when it met in May.

The result was a foregone conclusion. A debate extending over two sittings of the Court showed an enthusiastic purpose and an almost entire unanimity. By 178 to 17 it was agreed, on the motion of Dr. Andrew Thomson, "That a Committee be appointed to consider the subject in all its bearings and to report, and, more immediately, to meet with any Committee which may be appointed by the Free Church or any other of the Churches mentioned in the overtures, and confer with them as to our relative position and the steps proper to be taken to promote present co-operation and ultimate union." Cairns, James Taylor, David King, and

William Johnston of Limekilns made important speeches in favour of the motion. The minority, though small, was not uninfluential. It included Renton of Kelso, and George Clark Hutton, now coming to the front as an uncompromising Voluntary, also Henry Calderwood of Glasgow, but the objection was not to Union as such, only to immediate action and to entering upon negotiations without a proviso safeguarding the Church's position on the question of the civil magistrate. Marshall of Coupar-Angus, however, one of the most strenuous Voluntaries in the Synod, spoke very strongly in favour of speedy union.

Free Church Response.

The cordial action of the United Presbyterians made a deep impression on the Free Church, and when their Assembly met a fortnight later it was evident that a ready response would be given. Not since Disruption days was there a debate conducted at so high a level and so worthy of a really great occasion as that which took place on May 28, 1863. For the moment the voice of faction seemed shamed into silence, and an irresistible momentum to be urging the Church along the pathway of union. James Gibson wearied even his friends by a long oration in which he took up his usual stubbornly conservative attitude. In the end he yielded to the advice of Dr. Begg so far as to withdraw his blocking motion. Begg, indeed, quite approved of the opening negotiations, and spoke of the United Presbyterian testimony as " containing the very principles which we hold." Charles Brown, who had taken an active part in the Voluntary Controversy of 1829, made a magnanimous confession in which he deplored the bitterness of language in which he had then indulged, and declared definitely, amidst loud cheers, that difference of opinion respecting the lawfulness of the endowment of the Church by the State did not form a sufficient ground for the Churches remaining apart. Dr. Guthrie went further and told the Assembly not only that many of their people were out-and-out Voluntaries already, but that Voluntaryism would grow in the Free Church. Candlish did not disguise his hope that orthodoxy in doctrine and worship

would gain by the formation of a United Free Church that would cling to the old Scottish theology and have nothing to do with "gewgaw novelties." In fact, everybody seemed inclined to pronounce a blessing on the proposed union except a very few who allowed their preliminary protest to be drowned in the chorus of general applause. The motion of Dr. R. Buchanan for the appointment of a committee was passed *nemine contradicente*. How and why this bright prospect came too soon to be clouded over will be told in the next chapter. The point to note here is that the beginning was as promising as it well could be.

The Reformed Presbyterians.

Another Church that time had made ripe for entering on discussion with a view to union was the Reformed Presbyterian. There had been in it for some years a growing revolt against the rigid rule enforced as part of the Cameronian tradition, excommunicating all members who took the oath of allegiance or exercised the elective franchise—the logical result of pressing the ultra-Puritan conception of a small band of Covenanters existing in the midst of an un-Covenanted nation. So in 1863 a vote was taken in the Synod, when by 45 to 11 (7 declining to vote) it was enacted that "while recommending the members of the Church to abstain from the use of the franchise and from taking the oath of allegiance, discipline to the effect of suspension and expulsion from the Church shall cease." This, of course, entirely undermined the foundations of out-and-out Cameronianism and paved the way for reunion with catholic Presbyterianism. One cannot wonder that the thoroughgoing Reformed Presbyterians, though reduced to a mere fragment of ministers and elders, formed themselves into another Synod, claiming alone to stand by the principles of the denomination. In Scottish Church history unions have nearly always had to be purchased at the expense of separations of this sort which represent so many backwaters left behind when the progressive current flowed strongly.

Turning now to internal tendencies in the Free Church, one has to note two controversies which bulked

largely at the time, though they have little present interest. The management of the Sustentation Fund gave rise to annual debates as exciting to those concerned as Budget nights in the House of Commons, which culminated (1855) in a pitched battle between three parties. Hanna, Murray Dunlop, and an influential following insisted on the application of self-acting checks in the distribution of the money; Begg and others strongly objected to all official pressure, and laid the blame of a falling dividend on the undue multiplication of new charges; Buchanan, the convener of the committee and Chancellor of the Exchequer for the nonce, moved cautiously between the two extremes, and was able to carry the majority with him. Peace was attained for a while by the appointment in 1856 of a special committee of investigation. In 1863 the strife broke out again, and a considerably divided Assembly then decided in favour of another change in the method of distribution.

Sustentation Finance.

The other agitation was in connection with the founding of Colleges at Aberdeen and Glasgow. Cunningham, who had successfully resisted the planting of a Divinity Hall in the northern city, continued to oppose fresh developments there, but when the demand came from the West for a third College he and his supporters, realising the mind of the Church to be decidedly against them, retired from the field. One great argument which the Principal of New College used in opposition to a plurality of theological institutions was the danger of heresy arising owing to the difficulty of carefully and jealously watching the teaching in so many places. It was, indeed, in Aberdeen and Glasgow that the chief heresy prosecutions arose in later years. The endowment of the Glasgow College was agreed to in 1855, funds being largely provided by a donation from Dr. William Clark of Wester Moffat. The buildings erected above the West End Park were a conspicuous architectural ornament of the city. In 1859 the Assembly met for the first time in their new and commodious hall at the top of the Mound, Edinburgh, just opposite the stately Victoria Hall in which the Established Church

Free Church College Controversy.

Assembly had met since 1844. This proximity did not seem at first to bring the two Courts any closer in sympathy, but it made people ask increasingly as the years went on : " Why so near and yet so far ? "

Interior Policy of U.P. Church.

The interior policy of the United Presbyterian Church during this period was quiet and unsensational. Dr. Andrew Somerville was its efficient organising head till 1858, when the home and foreign departments were separated, and Dr. MacGill was appointed to the charge of the latter. A fund for superannuated ministers was established, and steps would have been taken to reform the system of theological training but for the appearance of union with the Free Church as a possibility in the near future. There was a good deal of talk about spiritual independence, and Hutton got his brethren to give plain advice to the Government on the question of National Fasts.

Prosecution of Bishop Forbes.

To the Episcopal Church of Scotland belongs the distinction of being the scene of the sole prosecution for theological heresy in the decade with which we are dealing. It took the form, however, not of an arrest of liberal thought, but of a protest against retrograde mediævalism. Alexander Penrose Forbes, Bishop of Brechin, though of Scotch birth—he was a son of Lord Medwyn, one of the judges of the Court of Session—had been trained at Oxford under extreme Tractarian influences, and came to his northern diocese from St. Saviour's, Leeds, with the strong recommendation of Mr. Gladstone. Animated by the ideals of Keble and Pusey, he gave himself with great devotion to the advancement of High Church doctrine and practice in the town of Dundee and among his clergy. Yet there was an increasing desire at this time in Scottish Episcopacy to abandon the exaggeration and provincialism of the Scottish Liturgy and to conform to the more moderate type of the English Prayer Book, thus removing the differences that still separated the Episcopalians of the North from those of the South. Therefore when Forbes in his primary charge of 1857 set forth his peculiar views on the Eucharist in very pronounced fashion, quite a storm arose. " Not only,"

says Bishop Wordsworth of Salisbury, " was high doctrine taught, but it was taught *ex cathedra* and with rigorous logic as necessary truth, and scant regard was shown for the traditional teaching of the Scottish Church, which was that of a Presence of virtue and efficacy." [1] The storm was intensified by the publication of *Six Sermons on the Doctrine of the Most Holy Eucharist*, by the Rev. P. Cheyne of Aberdeen. He went further than Forbes and put the same kind of doctrine in a more provocative and more nearly Roman form. The bishops met and issued a pastoral condemning the opinions of their brother prelate ; Cheyne was suspended by the Bishop of Aberdeen and declared in November 1859 to be no longer a clergyman of the Scottish Episcopal Church. Wordsworth of St. Andrews, from the point of view of historic High Anglicanism, and Ewing of Argyll, with his Broad Church leanings, were equally opposed to the views of Forbes, who showed no sign of withdrawing from his declared position. Steps were accordingly taken to bring him to formal trial, and Keble largely assisted the Bishop in his defence. Eventually judgment was pronounced in February 1860. The opinions of Forbes were censured—the inference he drew from a belief in the Real Objective Presence as involving supreme adoration to " Christ in the gifts," and the substantial oneness of the sacrifice of the Cross and the sacrifice of the Altar, which became in some transcendental sense " identical "—but on the ground that he only asked for toleration of them and did not claim for them the authority of the Church or any right to enforce them on those subject to his jurisdiction, the case ended with admonition. Cheyne later on tendered some explanations and was restored in 1863. Thus without proceeding to extreme measures the Scottish Episcopal Church took occasion to dissociate herself from the advanced Sacramentarianism which at that time was in very bad odour in England owing to the secession of several of its leaders to the Roman Catholic communion.

An important General Synod, held in 1862–63, by

[1] Article on Forbes, *Dictionary of National Biography*.

New Episcopal Canons.

passing a new code of canons went further in the two directions in which the Church was now travelling—towards giving a larger place to the laity in government, and conforming more definitely to general Anglican practice. A lay representative from each congregation was now admitted to vote in the election of bishops, laymen were permitted to address diocesan synods, lay readers and catechists were sanctioned. The Scottish Communion Office was removed from its position of primary authority as the authorised service of the Church, and the form in the Book of Common Prayer enjoined for use in all new congregations. Neither of these changes was adopted unanimously. Forbes opposed lay representation, and Wordsworth agreed with him in objecting to the subordination of the national rite, but one cannot fail to see in these decisions the awakening of a new and adaptive spirit in a Church that had lived too long in a state of exclusiveness and isolation.

Congregational Progress.

Congregationalism, which was in a very loose and incoherent condition, took a distinct step forward in 1857 when the various Churches declared themselves to be in fellowship with each other. This was the more necessary as there was growing up alongside of it another body—the Evangelical Union—which set an example of cohesion by combining Presbyterian with Independent elements.

6. Expansion at Home and Abroad

Growth of Kirk Endowments.

The home expansion of the Established Church continued to be mainly along the lines of Dr. Robertson's Endowment Scheme. By 1854 thirty new parishes had been created at an expenditure of about £130,000. These, however, were mostly in prosperous centres, and the next step was to extend operations to the whole country, dividing Scotland into provinces and offering financial encouragement to local effort. The nobility, including the Dukes of Buccleuch and Richmond, came forward to preside at public meetings on behalf of the

scheme, and John Inglis, leader of the Scottish bar, son of a distinguished Edinburgh minister, lent his powerful advocacy. In 1857 Robertson's devoted service was recognised by his election to the Moderatorship, and in that year he had the satisfaction of adding Queen Victoria and the Prince Consort to the list of his contributors. He had his disappointments. Glasgow and the West did not give as he expected; he spoke in 1859 of resigning his convenership, but the Assembly insisted on his retaining it with the Rev. William Smith as his colleague. Only another year of work remained for him, but it helped him nearer his final crown of success, more than £1000 a week being contributed. The strong frame had lost its spring, and, toiling almost to the last, he passed away in December 1860, with the characteristic words on his lips: "It is not the convener, it is not the Committee that can do this, but the Spirit of the living God." His successor was able to report at the succeeding Assembly that 104 parishes were either erected or in process of endowment. The whole sum subscribed for the scheme, including local contributions in aid of particular chapels, amounted to half a million. It was a remarkable record for a weakened and impoverished Church, and could never have been attained but for the enthusiasm and perseverance of Robertson in tapping the resources still available, more among the wealthier classes than among the people at large. The spirit of the man was well indicated in a tribute by Norman Macleod at a memorial public meeting held in Edinburgh: "He loved his Church more than himself; he loved his country more than his Church, because he loved Christ more than all." [1]

The Wynd Mission.

The most striking features of Free Church home mission effort during this period are to be found in the story of "the Wynds." This typical district of degraded Glasgow was familiar to Thomas Chalmers, who described it as "long, narrow, filthy, airless lanes in the heart of the city, with every available inch of ground on each side occupied with buildings, many of them far gone,

[1] Charteris, *A Faithful Churchman*, 1897, p. 203.

yet packed from cellar to garret." [1] James Macgregor, coming to the adjoining Tron parish in 1863, nearly fifty years later, could still say: "It is the wretchedest, foulest, immoralest corner of Scotland, nay, of Great Britain—one mass of moral and physical filth, the worst under the canopy of heaven, a seething sea of sin and devilry and bestiality rolling eternally around it, the very steeple pointing its finger as if by protest to that heaven which the breathing multitude around it so fearfully forget." [2] With all allowance for the picturesque exaggeration of the last quotation, this was manifestly a region that challenged the Church to the most strenuous activity. Early in the "fifties" Dr. Robert Buchanan brought the subject under the notice of Glasgow Free Presbytery, delivering a speech, afterwards published, in which the social and religious condition of the city was painted in the darkest colours. There was in the Wynds proper a sunken population of 12,000, 8000 of whom were Roman Catholics. A mission was organised, and in 1853 Dugald M'Coll, then a divinity student, began work; a year later a church was opened, and he was ordained as the first minister. He himself has told the wonderful tale of Christian enterprise in this most unpromising field. In four years the place was filled to overflowing; the congregation had to worship in the City Hall till another was built in the adjacent Bridgegate district, to which M'Coll went. Then Robert Howie, whom we have already seen figuring in the Glasgow College heresy case, came full of evangelistic ardour to the vacant pulpit in the Wynd Church. In October 1861 the two churches had 1100 communicants, while 200 more were applying for membership. Two years passed and the time was ripe for another migration and another church. This extraordinary development was largely due to the influence of the Revival that made itself felt from 1858 onwards. The warm religious atmosphere then generated attracted the people in crowds, and the power of the Gospel was mighty to uplift socially

[1] *Among the Masses: or Work in the Wynds*, by D. M'Coll, 1867.
[2] *Life*, by Lady F. Balfour, p. 148.

as well as to transform spiritually. Well-organised bands of workers visited the slums according to a territorial plan. Open-air services in summer and gatherings in music-halls and circuses during winter were helpful in increasing the number of converts. Unrelenting warfare was waged against the drink curse. "The Wynds" came to be recognised as a kind of classic battleground against the forces of home heathenism. The scene of campaign had ultimately to be shifted as the population decreased and business premises replaced uninhabitable tenements. Changed lives naturally sought a better and healthier environment in other parts of the city, while it was more and more difficult to reach the lower elements that hid themselves in the abandoned refuges of vice. Sound strategy required an attack on other districts where there was a good chance of repeating similar triumphs. The real value and permanence of the movement lay in the methods it standardised for reclaiming the "lapsed masses" everywhere, so that the work started in the Wynds spread itself over a very wide circumference and pointed the way towards the solution of still bigger home mission problems.

Glasgow, indeed, has always been the great Scottish field for such experiments. Norman Macleod, whose versatility as a great Christian minister demands frequent mention in this narrative, did much in the Barony parish to democratise the Church. In 1857 he commenced to hold evening services for the poor, to which none were admitted except in their everyday working clothes. The United Presbyterians were not so venturesome in appealing to the denizens of the slums, but they, too, initiated a movement of Church extension which had two special objectives—Glasgow and England, especially London. It should be borne in mind that the care of Presbyterians south of the Tweed was a charge which they shared with the English Presbyterians who were more closely allied to the Free Church, as well as with the small Synod of the Church of Scotland in England. Between 1853 and 1863 we find that no fewer than 18

Advance South of the Tweed.

new United Presbyterian congregations were planted in Glasgow, and 23 in England (5 of these in London).[1]

Missionary Expansion.

It is significant to note how about this time Colonial gave way to Missionary expansion. Up to the middle of the nineteenth century Canada, Australia, and New Zealand were largely thought of as mission fields, and the earliest efforts to evangelise the non-Christian world were from Colonial bases—in America, the South Seas, the West Indies, and then India. When the oversea dominions became more and more autonomous and their growing populations developed an inherent power of Christian propaganda, the more urgent needs of the heathen races made themselves apparent. Even India came to be identified less with the British settlements of Bombay, Calcutta, and Madras, and to be viewed more directly as a continent of vast opportunity. Therefore Duff, after laying the educational foundation of the Scottish Mission, began to look to the unoccupied regions and to rouse the Church to a more adventurous policy. It was somewhat of a scandal that there should be rival Presbyterian Colleges in Indian cities, keeping alive home divisions on foreign soil where so much land was to be possessed for Christ. Between 1845 and 1855 no new field was entered upon, and it is to the credit of the Church of Scotland that in the last-named year she established a mission in the great province of the Punjab. Her expansion abroad was much hindered by lack of funds. Not as yet was missionary zeal very strong in her membership, but a legacy left by Captain Murray, long a much-respected resident in the province, enabled the Assembly to break new ground. The Rev. Thomas Hunter and his wife were duly settled at Sialkot, and there had the honour of being the only Scottish missionary martyrs during the Indian Mutiny. They were murdered on July 9, 1857. Two volunteers—John Taylor and Robert Paterson—supplied the vacant places, and in December 1861 the foundation stone was laid of a Hunter Memorial Church. There were 94 scholars

[1] Mackelvie's *Annals and Statistics*, edited by Blair, 1873, p. 35.

and 11 communicants gathered in before the end of 1862.[1]

1855 was in other respects a notable year—to be remembered not only for the starting of the Punjab Mission, but for the opening of the first Zenana school in Calcutta by the Rev. John and Mrs. Fordyce (the idea was first suggested by Professor Thomas Smith), and the sending out of the first medical missionary to India, Dr. D. H. Paterson, son of Dr. Chalmers's first convert at Kilmany. His salary was paid by the Edinburgh Medical Missionary Society (founded 1841), and his field was Madras. In the same year died the Rev. John Anderson, founder of the Madras mission, a pioneer worthy to have his name associated with Duff and Wilson. The educational work there was to be greatly developed by William Miller, who went out in 1862 to be Principal of the Christian College.

Effects of Indian Mutiny.

It was the Mutiny of 1857 that really marked the beginning of a new era of progress in Indian missions. The lurid events of that time revealed the real nature of the heathenism that had to be conquered; the neutral attitude of the Government towards the systems of idolatry constituted a challenge to the Church to go forward with the Gospel everywhere. The United Presbyterian Church had long been thinking about joining her neighbours on Indian ground, and the call of 1857 decided her to take action. Previous to then, her only connection with India had been through John Murdoch, a Glasgow man who went as a Government teacher to Ceylon in 1844, and afterwards devoted himself with great zeal to the spread of Christian literature in the vernacular. His work was supported by friends in the West of Scotland, and ultimately received official support from the Synod, when in 1858 the Christian Vernacular Education Society for India was formed. But in that same year overtures were brought up from various Presbyteries urging the undertaking of a fully organised mission. Towards this a sum of £7455 was

[1] *Forty Years of the Punjab Mission of the Church of Scotland*, 1855–95, by J. F. W. Youngson, D.D., Edinburgh, 1895.

promised, to be contributed in five years. The Synod, notwithstanding a deficit in the ordinary Mission Funds, resolved to make the forward move desired, and its faith was justified by a large increase in the contributions. Largely through the advice of Wilson of Bombay the central part of the vast province of Rajputana was selected as the new field, with Beawar and Ajmer as the first stations. It was at the very heart of the old Hindu civilisation, where ancient sovereignties and warrior castes had been preserved through the period of Mohammedan supremacy, much as they were in the days of Alexander the Great. The first missionaries were Williamson Shoolbred and Thomas Steele, who sailed in September 1859. But "like Abraham in Canaan, the first possession of the United Presbyterian Church in Rajputana was a grave." Steele died a few months after landing. The Mission Board at home straightway resolved to increase the staff to six, and reinforcements were soon present in the persons of John Robson, William Martin, and others. In Shoolbred, one of the most distinguished students of his time, the Mission had a leader of first-rate ability. His picturesque and powerful letters home kindled a lively interest, and the foundations were laid of a great enterprise. An orphanage was opened at Beawar in 1861, and the first native converts were baptized in 1863.

Meanwhile the original Scottish Mission in India successfully stood the strain of the crisis. In Madras, where the native Church was strongest, and in Bombay, there was no mutiny. Calcutta was nearer the heart of disaffection, and there one of the victims was Gopenath Nindi, the third convert of Alexander Duff. The missionary career of that apostolic man was drawing to a close. Worn out by more than three decades of incessant labour and by the awful strain of the later years, Dr. Duff felt himself at fifty-seven to be "in the sere and yellow leaf," and in 1863 he was obliged to return home. When he went out in 1830, there were only 27,000 native Christians in India, Ceylon, and Burma. When he left, there were 150,000.

China.

Not yet had the Church in Scotland any very intimate connection with the spread of the Gospel in China. The English Presbyterian Mission was indeed chiefly manned by Scotsmen, such as William Burns, its restless evangelistic herald, and Carstairs Douglas, its first constructive missionary-statesman. These men and others did good work before the general opening of China in 1860. The Scottish Auxiliary, founded 1855, raised a considerable portion of the funds. Not till 1862 did any Church in Scotland assume direct responsibility for Chinese evangelisation. Then the United Presbyterian Synod resolved to take over for at least three years the work of Dr. William Parker at Ningpo. It was a small beginning, but it must be remembered that in 1860 there were only 1200 Christians in China, and the country at large was still mostly unknown and untrodden by Europeans.

Seven Missionaries sent forth.

An event till then unexampled in the history of the Scottish Churches took place in February 1857. Then seven missionaries were designated at once for the foreign field—five for Jamaica and two for Kaffraria. One of the two last was Tiyo Soga, a pure African, the first ordained preacher of the Kaffir race, educated at Lovedale, which began its beneficent history in 1841. The bitter war of 1846–57 completely disorganised Mission work in South Africa. Lovedale was temporarily broken up. Soga, as its most promising pupil, was brought to Scotland for a thorough education. In 1848 he was baptized by Dr. William Anderson in John Street Church, Glasgow, and as soon as his course of training was ended he went out to labour among his fellow-countrymen. There Duff found him during one of his world-missionary tours, exerting a wonderful influence. "Soga," says W. J. Slowan of the National Bible Society, "was a ripe theologian, an evangelistic missionary with no superior in the annals of our Church. As a translator he left his mark on the Kaffir version of Holy Scripture, and in the forceful brilliant rendering of the *Pilgrim's Progress*, a marvel of accuracy and lucidity, which he has given to the literature of his people." This

was the dawning day of African Missions. The work at Old Calabar was being consolidated. A Presbytery was formed at Biafra in 1858; the Efik New Testament, translated by Rev. H. Goldie, was published in 1862. New stations were opened and converts baptized. The central regions, revealed by Livingstone, still waited for missionary occupation. James Stewart, afterwards of Lovedale, accompanied the great traveller in 1861 to explore possibilities in that direction, but the Church was not yet ready for such a venture.

The New Hebrides.

A chapter of missionary romance belonging to this period is connected with the Reformed Presbyterian Church and the names of John Inglis of Aneityum and J. G. Paton of Tanna. Inglis went out to the New Hebrides in 1852, labouring there single-handed for several years, notwithstanding earnest appeals for help. Then the Synod, with a quaint return to primitive practice, resolved to cast lots to discern whether God would thus select any minister to be relieved from his home-charge and be designated as a missionary to the South Seas. The result was so indecisive that it appeared clear this was not the way out. Young Paton, at the time a student and a zealous city missionary, felt himself bound in the circumstances to offer himself, and, without his knowledge, Joseph Copeland, a fellow-student, came to a similar resolve. The two sailed for the Pacific in 1858, and Paton's marvellous story of life and death among the cannibals of Tanna has become enshrined among the missionary classics of our day. One of the earliest recollections of the present writer is hearing this modern apostle tell his extraordinary tale and exhibit his hideous idol-trophies in Union U.P. Church at Kirkcaldy about 1863 or 1864.[1]

National Bible Society.

A real sign of expansion was the formation on May 9, 1860, of the National Bible Society of Scotland. It was a combination of societies previously existing in Edinburgh and Glasgow that had previously asserted independence of the British and Foreign Bible Society because of the temporary policy of that body in circu-

[1] *J. G. Paton: An Autobiography.*

lating copies of the uncanonical as well as the authorised Scriptures. Though that controversy had died down there was still a strong prejudice against the Apocrypha,[1] and while friendly relations with the parent Society were maintained it was thought best to have a national organisation for north of the Tweed. From the first the new Society received the support of all the Churches, and it became a centre of unity as well as a powerful auxiliary to both Home and Foreign Missions. The Duke of Argyll was the first Hon. President, and John Henderson of Park, Chairman of the Board.

Italy. European Continent.

The emancipation of Italy, which awakened much popular interest in Scotland, led to important developments in the Continental work of the Free Church. A station was commenced at Geneva in 1853, when the Rev. David King began to minister to a congregation largely composed of Scotch engineers and their families. Dr. J. R. M'Dougall, whose ministry at Florence dates from 1857, became closely associated with the ex-monk Gavazzi in establishing the Free Church of Italy. Services were begun at Rome and Naples in 1861. Expansion both at home and abroad had never before been so emphatic a note of the Scottish Church.

7. Social Progress

We have now reached the point in our history when social problems began to be seriously studied by the Church. Though at first the attempts to consider them tended to amateurishness without much clear apprehen-

[1] Dr. Candlish gave great offence in high quarters and showed a singular narrowness by denouncing as "Popish" in an Assembly speech (1863) the inscription on a monument to the Prince Consort erected by Queen Victoria near Balmoral. The words were from the Book of Wisdom, chap. iv.: "Being made perfect in a short time he fulfilled a long time, etc."

As Rev. H. F. Henderson remarks (see his chapter on "The Apocrypha Controversy" in *Religious Controversies of Scotland*, 1905): "The opponents of the Apocrypha had little historical faculty such as enables men at the present day to value ancient writings irrespective of their agreement with the contents. Because of its blemishes they saw in it nothing but what was wrong and pernicious."

sion of the vast issues involved, there are manifest signs of emancipation from the old individualism and of awakening to the truth that new occasions imposed new duties of wider scope than formerly. The letter of Lord Palmerston, addressed to the Edinburgh Presbytery of the Church of Scotland on October 19, 1853, was significant in its way. No man was less qualified to pose as a theologian than the energetic early Victorian statesman who confessed his own incompetence in the spiritual sphere by handing over to Lord Shaftesbury his responsibility for Episcopal appointments. But he had a fund of mundane common sense and could not resist the opportunity of reading a lecture to the Edinburgh divines, who asked him as Home Secretary to appoint a national fast because of the cholera epidemic. He told them that they had better turn their attention to "those gaseous exhalations which proceed from overcrowded human beings or from decomposing substances," and that only "when man has done his utmost for his own safety was it the time to invoke the blessing of heaven to give effect." [1] It was perhaps a lesson Scottish Churchmen needed to learn in those days of social neglect, and it bore fruit in the years that followed. Not as yet was the social conscience generally aroused, but there were men who saw further than their fellows and gave a distinct lead in a progressive direction.

Lord Palmerston's Advice.

Prominent among these were Dr. James Begg and Duncan M'Laren, two strongly contrasted personalities who for a while worked together as allies with common aims. We shall be obliged as this narrative proceeds to set forth the unlovely aspects of Begg's later career as an ecclesiastic. Justice has not yet been done to his earlier and most beneficial work as a tribune of the people and an eloquent champion of reforms in the State, rightly regarded by him as vital in the interests of morality and religion. Had he continued to lead along those lines, his name would have been more honoured in Scotland to-day than it is. Let us not grudge a belated tribute to what he endeavoured to do and actually achieved.

Begg as Social Reformer.

[1] Ashley's *Life of Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 265.

During the " fifties " he was very much of a free-lance, more active on public platforms on behalf of the Scottish Social Reform Association, and in attendance at Social Science Congresses, than as a debater in the General Assembly of his Church, though there he always secured an attentive hearing. His programme of reform was bold and comprehensive enough. Eight points in his " charter " are mentioned by his biographer: " (1) Education—improvement of its quality and quantity; (2) suppression of drunkenness; (3) better dwellings for working people and the poor; (4) provision of public washing houses and bleaching greens; (5) reform of the land laws; (6) simplification of the transfer of land; (7) more thorough treatment of Crime and Pauperism; (8) greater justice to Scotland in Parliament." [1] To these must be added his warm advocacy of the Saturday half-holiday and the extension to Scotland of the franchise enjoyed in England by the " forty-shilling freeholder." In the Church courts Begg concentrated his efforts on the housing of the working classes and the iniquities of the Bothy system. The Free Assembly in 1858, at his suggestion, appointed a committee to " inquire into the state of the dwellings of the working classes throughout Scotland, with special reference to the existence and extension of the Bothy system, the bearings of this on the morality of the people, and the best means of securing a remedy for existing evils." Of this committee he was chosen convener, and his annual reports from 1859 onwards attracted much notice. " For the first time," he said, " these social questions have bulked with anything like a due proportion to their intrinsic magnitude in our business, and I hope in after years their place will become ever more prominent." The Bothy system against which Begg fulminated with a strength of invective which greatly annoyed landlords in the Free Church and elsewhere, was the plan of lodging a number of ploughmen and other labourers, generally unmarried, in a hut or outhouse called a bothy, and thus virtually rendering impossible all the humanising influence of

The Bothy System.

[1] *Life*, by Thos. Smith, D.D., chap. xxxii. p. 144.

domestic life. It was of comparatively recent introduction, and prevailed largely in the east and north-east of Scotland, giving rise to much illegitimacy. The need for better housing in rural districts was clamant, but according to the law of entail and the acts amending it, Scottish landlords were not empowered to build cottages and burden their estates with the expense. They might improve mansion-houses, drain lands, build dog-kennels and stables, but were prohibited erecting houses for the people. Begg and others were able to persuade Mr. Murray Dunlop, M.P., to introduce a Bill into Parliament to remove this defect, and it was passed in 1860. The Assembly petitioned in 1861 for a Royal Commission to inquire into the evils of the Bothy system.

The City Problem.

Begg next attacked the city problem. He pointed out that there were in Edinburgh 121 families living in single rooms without windows and 13,209 families—say, 50,000 persons—living in houses of one apartment with a window. And he was able to quote from a Parliamentary return that of the 666,786 houses in Scotland in 1861, 226,723 had only one room, 7964 of these being windowless. This ugly revelation made a deep impression, though such a widespread evil, rooted in old social custom, could not be dealt with in a day. Dr. Roxburgh, Convener of the Assembly's Home Mission Committee, also showed a real grasp of the situation. He brought home to the Church another suggestive fact—that while in 1851 the population was almost equally divided between town and country, by 1859 the rural half had increased by little more than 54,000, the urban by upwards of 173,000, deducing therefrom the need of directing threefold more effort towards the town populations. Emigration and the introduction of large farming were depleting the country districts. The operation of the new Poor Law was adding to the number of paupers everywhere, and the attraction of the great labour markets was leading to congestion in the cities, while the percentage of immorality and crime was actually higher in Scotland than in England. "Most entirely," said Roxburgh, "do I respond to the sentiment that Home Mission

effort and social reform must go hand in hand" (*Free Assembly Proceedings*, 1860). This sentiment was about to become a fixed principle of action, and not a moment too soon.

Duncan M'Laren.

Duncan M'Laren was more of an earnest political leader than a Churchman. Though a United Presbyterian of the out-and-out Voluntary type, he took no part in ecclesiastical affairs. His interests were chiefly in religious equality, civic progress, the maintenance of national rights, and moral and social reform. He stood in the forefront of the battle against the Annuity Tax, and would not accept the compromise attempted by Lord Advocate Moncreiff in his Act of 1860. Against the undue privileges of parish ministers, the pretensions of Episcopal prelates, and the intrigues of Whig place-hunters, he waged unrelenting and sometimes bitter war. He had a distinguished record as Lord Provost of Edinburgh from 1851 to 1854, and was really the first man in Scotland to introduce idealism into municipal affairs. As a patriot he was willing to join with Conservatives in defence of his country's claims for recognition and fairplay, and he proposed the resolution at the National Convention of 1853 in favour of a Secretary of State for Scotland. One of the real initiators of the Forbes Mackenzie Act, he set himself firmly against all attempts to undo its work. In a pamphlet published in 1858 he gave statistics to show that "the number of cases of drunkenness alone, and of drunkenness combined with crime, was 165 per cent. greater on Sundays under the old law than under the new in the chief towns of Scotland, while intemperance on the whole had diminished to the extent of 40 per cent.[1] On electoral reform he took an advanced position, co-operating with Begg in the Scottish freehold movement. If M'Laren was not free from the one-sidedness and exaggerated individualism that characterised the Radicalism of the early Victorian era, he had the sincere conviction and the bold outlook of the genuine reformer.

Neither in the Assembly of the Church of Scotland

[1] *Whisky-Drinking in Scotland*, Scottish Temperance League, 1858.

nor in the United Presbyterian Synod did social questions bulk largely at this time. The Assembly was concerned about the immorality of the rural districts, but very chary about entering on the dangerous domain of politics. And the United Presbyterians had so many powerful platform men among their leaders, doing much to guide public opinion outside the Church courts, that they found it scarcely necessary to discuss such matters in Presbytery or Synod. Calderwood, for instance, was a promoter of the Glasgow Social Reform Association, the main object of which was to provide bright and helpful entertainment for working folk with a view to counteracting the influence of the low music saloon, the public-house, and vicious literature.

Temperance Reform.

This, and the kindred efforts of the Glasgow Abstainers' Union and similar local societies, were among the first evidences that Temperance reform was passing out of a purely negative into a more positive and aggressive phase. The Scottish Temperance League continued to preach personal total abstinence as the chief if not the only specific. In its earlier policy it did not press for legislation except on moderate lines, underrating the importance of counter-attractions to the public-house. The appearance of the Prohibition Movement in America, and the formation in England of the United Kingdom Alliance for the legislative suppression of the Liquor Traffic (1853), led to an increasing desire for stringent Parliamentary interference. For a while, however, Temperance reformers in Scotland were keenly divided between the policy of " moral suasion " and that of veto, local or national, and dissatisfaction with the League's attitude issued in the formation in Glasgow on October 1, 1858, of the Scottish Permissive Bill and Temperance Association, the membership of which was not confined to abstainers. As yet the Churches held aloof from the advanced programme. They were satisfied with the Forbes Mackenzie Act, and sought the strengthening of its provisions. The annual speeches of Professor Miller in the Free Assembly showed gratifying progress in Temperance work within the Church. A Royal Com-

mission of inquiry was appointed in 1859, and its report removed any fear of a set-back. In 1862 a Public-House Amendment Act was passed, consolidating previous legislation. Mr. A. S. Finlay, M.P. for Argyll, proposed in committee a local veto clause of a mild kind : " That a licence be not granted if objected to by two-thirds of proprietors and occupiers within 100 yards of the premises." Rejected by 37 to 19, this was the first suggestion of what afterwards became a fruitful principle of reform. About this time the Churches began to view adversely the practice of toast-drinking at ordination dinners. By 1863 Total Abstinence Societies had been formed in the three leading denominations.

Sabbath Question.

The Sabbath question was still acute through the efforts made, especially in England, to open museums and picture galleries on the Lord's Day. There was as yet no endeavour to extend the running of Sunday trains, but an agitation arose in 1863 over the proposal to open the Edinburgh Botanic Gardens. Fourteen thousand people petitioned for opening, 36,000 against. The decision here lay with the Crown, and the matter came before Parliament. The Assemblies and Synods protested against opening, and the House of Commons by the small majority of 13 kept the gates closed. This was perhaps a Pyrrhic victory for the Sabbatarian cause. Public opinion so far had gone along with the restrictive policy of the Churches, but some Christian men were beginning to have doubts as to the wisdom of enforcing Sabbath-keeping by legal prohibition and denying the use of open spaces to crowded city dwellers on the one day when they were quite free to enjoy them. Very soon the issue was to be raised in a wider form.

Gretna Marriages.

The Act of 1857, abolishing Gretna runaway marriages, may be deemed a note of social progress, but this was merely a local scandal, and the Church in Scotland had no responsibility for its too long continuance.

8. Literature

The evidence of general awakening in this period is nowhere so conspicuous as in the field of literature. Quicker communication with England and the rest of the world, the removal of the taxes on knowledge, the growing enterprise of publishers, the increased activity of thought in all directions, led to a wider outlook and a larger press output than the country had yet known. The publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species* (1859) was epoch-making for scientific thought, and the appearance of *Essays and Reviews* (1860) and Colenso on *The Pentateuch* (1862) prophetic of change in the theological sphere. Of course the significance of these works was either not recognised or misunderstood at the time, but other influences had a more immediate effect, such as the Broad Church and Christian Social Movement of Maurice, Kingsley, and F. W. Robertson, the artistic idealism of John Ruskin, the poetry of Tennyson and Browning, the novels of Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot—all tending to break down the provincial isolation and modify the sterner features of Scottish religion.

Epoch-making Books.

The periodical press is perhaps the best mirror of the new forces at work. *Good Words*, which began in 1860, was really the first successful popular attempt to seal an alliance between good literature and healthy-minded piety. Alexander Strahan, its publisher, was led to Scotland for an editor in the person of Norman Macleod, and he could not have chosen a better man to start the venture. In him large-hearted Christian sympathies were combined with a true knowledge of the changing temper of the time. From the first he sought to cultivate a wide range of topics, not confining himself to articles of a directly religious character, while he maintained a uniformly high tone of treatment. So he was able to enlist many of the best writers of the day, introducing poetry by George MacDonald, Alexander Smith, Jean Ingelow; fiction by Anthony Trollope, the author of *John Halifax*, and himself; expositions of science by

Good Words.

Brewster, J. D. Forbes, Geikie, and Herschel; drawing largely from divines of the broad school—Caird, Llewellyn Davies, Kingsley, Stanley, Tulloch—but also welcoming to his pages Free Churchmen like Guthrie, Arnot, and Walter C. Smith, as well as representatives of English Nonconformity. But such a varied and attractive programme suggested a new standard of "Sunday reading," and was therefore viewed with alarm in stricter circles. The Free Presbytery of Strathbogie overtured the Assembly of 1863 in vain "to take *Good Words* into its consideration." A London Presbyterian minister contributed to the *Record* (then the very narrow organ of Anglican Evangelicalism) a series of articles on "*Good Words*: the Theology of its Editor and Some of its Contributors," in which it was accused of "doing about as dangerous a work as any journal of the present day." But such criticism brought ridicule upon itself, and the circulation went up to 110,000 monthly.

Andrew Cameron as Editor.

Another editor who did excellent educative work, though on more orthodox lines, was Andrew Cameron, a Free Church minister who ended his career in Melbourne. He began *The British and Foreign Evangelical Review* in 1853, a quarterly which, without soaring into speculative regions, certainly widened the scope of theological knowledge among the Scottish ministry, making them at least partially aware of movements of religious thought in America and on the Continent. Cunningham succeeded to the editorial chair which Cameron left to start the *Family Treasury* (1859). This for a while was a rival to *Good Words*, adhering more closely to the definitely religious element, while by no means deficient in literary quality. Mrs. Charles's *Chronicles of the Schönberg-Cotta Family* ran through one of the earlier volumes, and she continued to be a leading contributor.

Denominational Periodicals.

The denominational periodicals made very little appeal to the general public, and a good many efforts were made to revive interest in them. Principal Tulloch accepted the editorship of the *Church of Scotland Record* in 1861, but had not a free hand to break entirely its tradition of stodgy routine. The United Presbyterians

had a Missionary Record eagerly read within the denomination and a monthly Magazine of a more general kind. James A. Wylie, who had been an Original Secession minister before 1852, did much press work for the Free Church. Though he had great facility with the pen, and displayed no little vigour as a Protestant controversialist, he could not prevent a heavy drop in the circulation of the *Free Church Record* under his editorship, and an abortive attempt was made in 1863 to give it popularity as a weekly. After the death of Hugh Miller in 1856 *The Witness* languished and soon died, though Miller was succeeded for a while by Peter Bayne, an able journalist who found the Scottish field too narrow for him. There was no longer a *raison d'être* for a militant Free Church newspaper, and the *Edinburgh Daily Review*, which entered on a troubled existence in April 1861 very much to take its place, simply claimed to be " of liberal politics, and in harmony with the religious sentiments of the community generally, giving special attention to questions as bearing on the interests of the non-Established Churches." It never succeeded better than under David Guthrie, its first editor. *M'Phail's Journal*, which was but poorly representative of the Church of Scotland, came to an end in 1863, and not yet was that Church awake to the need of using the press to educate the people. High-and-dry Churchmen were sure of sympathy in Tory organs like the *Courant* (which James Hannay conducted brilliantly from 1860 to 1864). The more advanced men found the columns of *The Scotsman* open to them, though Russel was the most anti-ecclesiastical of editors.

Outside Edinburgh one of the most influential papers at this time was *The Aberdeen Free Press*, started by Wm. M'Combie, and edited by William Alexander,[1] a man who united strong evangelical principles with a truly liberal outlook. Thomas Aird of the *Dumfries Herald*, a great friend of Gilfillan, wielded a more than

[1] Alexander was the author of *Johnny Gibb of Gushetneuk* (1871), a story of Disruption times in Aberdeenshire Doric, which attained to great popularity in the North.

provincial influence. *The North British Review* continued to have a high literary reputation under Campbell Fraser, who was very successful in securing articles from the best thinkers of the day. A crisis, however, arose in 1856. Isaac Taylor, writing on Chalmers, made certain statements which are now generally acknowledged as true—that he was more of a magnetic living influence than a theological thinker, that even he had misgivings about aspects of Calvinism that seemed inconsistent with the perfect goodness of God, and that the future lay not with a "superannuated logical or deductive theology," but with a biblical theology ready to recognise in an open spirit the mysterious facts in Divine Revelation.[1] The article so greatly enraged Cunningham that he felt it his "imperative duty to testify and solemnly warn" his students against it. Fraser had to resign his editorship, and the *Review* sank back into a safe conventionality. The new wine was beginning to burst the old bottles, but men were still too reluctant to drink it.

Theology.

There were distinct signs of revived interest in Theology. A good deal of writing was still expended on defence of the old positions without much fresh light or leading. Candlish published an attack on Maurice's *Theological Essays*, and in 1861 reissued his book on the *Atonement*, making the candid confession: "With the exception of the last two chapters in the first part on the Nature of the Atonement I have added little to what I formerly wrote, and have scarcely at all extended my researches or discussions in any new direction." Yet there had appeared in 1856 M'Leod Campbell's very notable book on that subject, almost ignored at the time, but destined to have a far-reaching influence on subsequent thought. Three tributes from different quarters may be quoted as to its significance. Storr, in his *Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century* (1913), describes it as "certainly the most important English contribution to dogmatic theology made in the first sixty years of the century." Denney in his latest work, *The Christian*

[1] See Fraser's *Biographia Philosophica*, pp. 58–63.

Doctrine of Reconciliation (1918), says of it and of Bushnell's *Vicarious Sacrifice*, which appeared nine years later: "It may be questioned whether anything has been written since to rival either as an interpretation of Christ's reconciling work purely through the idea of love." And Professor R. S. Franks, in his *History of the Doctrine of the Work of Christ in its Ecclesiastical Development* (1918), goes further: "Campbell's *Nature of the Atonement* is the most systematic and masterly book on the work of Christ produced by a British theologian in the nineteenth century." Notwithstanding the heaviness of its style, the book made its way gradually by sheer force of thinking, and its characteristic argument had to be taken account of by all later theologians. Scotland was at last beginning to burst the bonds of the cast-iron scholasticism that had so long fettered her. Yet the posthumous works of William Cunningham, consisting largely of his Class lectures and published (1862–63) in a series of volumes—*Historical Theology*, *The Reformers and Theology of the Reformation*, and *Discussions on Church Principles*—are valuable as the culminating effort to set forth consistent and uncompromising Presbyterian Calvinistic dogma by a man who found in it full satisfaction for both intellect and heart. No one who wants to understand the strong stuff of which the old Scottish theology was made should fail to study Cunningham. He could not leave a successor, but he left a monument worthy of respect and honour, notwithstanding his ignorance of German and his uncritical view of the Bible The foundation of the Cunningham Lectureship in his memory by Mr. W. Binny Webster was a happy inspiration and a good omen for the future.

Tulloch, who represented the new school most prominently among the writers of this period, was decidedly below Cunningham in learning and spiritual insight. His Burnett Prize Essay on *Theism* (1855) is now forgotten, but his *Leaders of the Reformation* (1859), followed by *English Puritans and their Leaders* (1861), if somewhat superficial, reveal the modern historical spirit at work.

Church History.

One notes a wholesome tendency towards the writing of more impartial Church history than had previously been in vogue. Even when men dealt with their own Churches they no longer considered it right to obscure facts and obtrude personal opinions. So we mark an advance in the *History of the Church of Scotland*, by Rev. John Cunningham of Crieff (1859), beyond previous attempts, for though the author's sympathies are more with the Moderates than the Evangelicals, he aims at being fair to both, and keeps his rôle as historian. Still more is this the case with George Grub, whose *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland* (four vols., 1861), though written from quite a definitely Episcopal point of view, is a work of sound research and especially rich in its account of the earlier centuries. The *Lectures on the History of the Church of Scotland—from the Reformation to the Revolution Settlement* (1861), by Principal Lee of Edinburgh University, published after his death, are still vouched for by Dr. Hay Fleming and other modern scholars as a reliable authority, justifying the high reputation in his time of a man whom Sir Walter Scott owned as his master in Scottish history and Scottish lore, and whose erudition, like that of Lord Acton, never found adequate expression in literary production. It is to Lee that we owe the preservation of that priceless relic of the previous century—Dr. Alexander Carlyle's *Autobiography*, published in 1861 under the editorship of John Hill Burton. The self-revelation it contained of an almost Pagan Moderatism, naked and unashamed, was rather startling to a world that had risen to higher levels of faith and had learned to believe in spiritual Christianity.

Apologetics.

Of apologists for a distinctly Christian philosophy perhaps the most conspicuous was James M'Cosh, who, though located in Belfast from 1851 till his call to be head of Princeton College in 1868, must be claimed as of the typical Scottish school, devoting himself to the championship of its main positions on religious grounds. His most important work of this period was *The Intuitions of the Mind* (1860). Henry Calderwood sprang very early into fame by his bold attack, while yet a student,

on what he deemed to be the agnostic and sceptical conclusions implicit in Hamilton's doctrine of the Relativity of Knowledge—conclusions afterwards elaborated by Dean Mansel and Herbert Spencer. His book, *The Philosophy of the Infinite* (1854), which passed through four editions, has therefore importance as the first protest against a tendency which certainly struck at the roots of intelligent faith as well as of the traditional Scottish philosophy.

Biblical.

We can now trace the beginnings of a broader and more scientific treatment of Holy Scripture. Brown and Eadie continued to publish commentaries of value, chiefly on the Epistles. Arnot wrote on Proverbs, Robert Buchanan on Ecclesiastes, in more or less sermonic style. T. & T. Clark in their *Foreign Theological Library*, having exhausted the more orthodox Germans, proceeded to introduce Dorner, Ewald, and others of the moderate critical school to English readers. Just about the same time an effort was made by the publication of Nichol's *Puritan Divines*, a wonderfully cheap series, to revive interest in the older theology.[1] In this race the Foreigners decidedly outstripped the Puritans, whose dialect was too remote and too difficult for the modern understanding. A new departure was made by A. B. Davidson in his *Commentary on Job* (chapters i.–xiii.), published in 1861 when he was Hebrew tutor at New College, just a year before his election as professor. This not only revealed the opening mind of a great Biblical scholar—it pointed to new and profitable directions in which the study of the Sacred Writings might be pursued. The book was never finished, though Davidson in 1884 gave to the world a complete popular commentary on Job in the Cambridge Bible series. The importance of the earlier work lies in the indication it gives of a dawning era in the reign of sound Biblical criticism, and the Church of that day gave proof of its wisdom in calling the author to be a teacher of its future ministry.

Judging by circulation, the most acceptable Scottish

[1] Alexander Whyte's first literary labour was the preparation of an index to the volumes on Thomas Goodwin, for whom he retained a lifelong admiration.

religious writer of this time was J. R. Macduff, a minister of the Church of Scotland at Kettins and St. Madoes, Perthshire, and afterwards in Glasgow. George Matheson, who was brought up under him, says: "Of all the men I have known, there is none who has ever so powerfully suggested to me the Bible figure of St. John." Macduff was pre-eminently "a son of consolation," and his books were great favourites with invalids. Between 1852 and 1863 he published no fewer than twenty, and they sold by hundreds of thousands. *Morning and Night Watches* and *The Mind and Words of Jesus* had an immense vogue as devotional manuals. A better writer, with a real note of original genius, was James Hamilton,[1] who went from Edinburgh shortly before the Disruption to Regent Square, London. His *Christian Classics* obtained deserved popularity as an annotated anthology of English religious literature. Popular Religious Writers.

It was about this time that men first thought of re-writing the Life of Christ in modern language and to meet modern needs. A pioneer in this department, whose excellent work has been obscured if not quite superseded by the success of later and sometimes inferior works, was Dr. William Hanna, who in 1862 published *The Last Day of our Lord's Passion*, a preliminary and very promising instalment of what grew into a complete biographical treatment of the Gospel history. Hanna is an interesting link between the Disruption tradition and the liberal theology of later days. Starting as the biographer of Chalmers he lived to be editor of Thomas Erskine's letters. He was the most progressive Free Churchman of this period, influential in the pulpit as colleague of Dr. Guthrie, and prompt to discern the inner meaning of religious movements. He edited in 1858 a volume of *Essays by Free Church Ministers*, which revealed a wider outlook than was then common. Islay Burns, who afterwards wrote a short history of the early Church, said some wise things on *Catholicism and Sectarianism*, and James Walker of Carnwath dealt with *Tertullian*. Alfred Edersheim, who ultimately Hanna and Others.

[1] *Life*, by William Arnot.

joined the Church of England, discussed *Bohemian Reformers and German Politicians.*

Sociology.

One notes, too, a rising interest in *Sociology*, a word hitherto unfamiliar in Scottish thought. A book bearing that name by Rev. J. Peden Bell of Midmar (1853) was somewhat of a novelty, and the writings of P. E. Dove are said to have influenced Henry George.[1] W. G. Blaikie's *Better Days for Working People* (1861) opened up vistas of progress that were to be more thoroughly explored. The Christian Socialists of England had pointed the way, and Scotland was opening its eyes to fields of activity outside the ecclesiastical pale.

Science and Faith.

The relation of science to faith also occupied not a few active minds. Hugh Miller did not add much of value to his previous contributions. He was still labouring at the reconciliation of Genesis and Geology, finally elaborating his views in *The Testimony of the Rocks* (1857), but leaving a more lasting legacy to posterity in *My Schools and Schoolmasters* (1854). The collapse of his overwrought brain, resulting in his tragic death (December 23, 1856), made his country mourn a martyr to literature as well as to religion. He had sacrificed himself in a consuming passion for Truth. A gentler and more genial spirit was George Wilson, whose early death in 1859 removed from the scene one who had it in him to do great things as a believing student of Nature. "The effort of his life," said his friend, John Cairns, "was to render science at once more human and more divine."[2] His *Five Gateways of Knowledge* (1856) and the volume of essays issued posthumously under the title *Religio Chemici* (1862) show the man at his best. Brewster, who in 1859 became Principal of Edinburgh University, persevered to old age in indefatigable efforts to bridge the seeming gulf between the visible and invisible. *More Worlds than One* (1854) is perhaps his most distinctive, as it was his most generally read, book.

Biographies.

Some important biographies call for mention. Norman Macleod did a beautiful and graceful piece of

[1] Article on Dove in *D.N.B.*; Robertson Nicoll's *My Father.*

[2] See Sketch in *Macmillan's Magazine*, 1860.

work when he wrote the life of his cousin, John Mackintosh, *The Earnest Student* (1854), an eager Free Churchman of the early time, handing over the proceeds of the volume to the Foreign Missions of the Disruption Church. The life of Story of Rosneath by his son and successor and that of Robertson by his faithful pupil, A. H. Charteris, must be studied by all who would appreciate the good and devoted men that clave to the old Church in the days of her sorest trial. Cairns wrote, perhaps with too much restraint, the life of John Brown of Broughton Place, Edinburgh, adding as an appendix the immortal appreciation by his son, one of the most exquisite filial wreaths ever laid by genius at the feet of piety. Lindsay Alexander's life of Wardlaw shows the great place in Scottish religious life filled by this eminent Congregationalist. George Lawson, the "Scottish Socrates," whom Carlyle recalled as one of the grand and rugged figures of his early youth, waited long for a biographer, and found one at last in Dr. John Macfarlane, whose life of this notable Seceder (1862) fills an important gap, if it fails sufficiently to recreate an antique personality.

Poetry has never been a characteristic feature of the Scottish Church, and the long vogue of the metrical psalms and too frequently prosaic paraphrases in her worship tended to discourage any spontaneous native effort even in the religious sphere. So, with the exception of Michael Bruce and Robert Pollok, we find no name of distinction till Horatius Bonar. In him, however, a true singer of Israel appeared almost before the Church was ready for him. He began to write hymns in 1834, but his greatest and most widely known obtained general currency during this period through the publication of the first series of *Hymns of Faith and Hope* in 1857. Though coloured by his habitual contemplation of the Second Advent as a near consummation, and occasionally lapsing into a mood of morbid pensiveness if not pessimism, their lyrical quality is exceedingly high, their grasp of Christian truth intense and strong, and they have secured a permanent place in the affections of the universal Church. Another genuine religious poet of

Poetry.

quite another kind found voice in 1860 in the person of Walter Chalmers Smith, writing under the name of "Orwell." His *Bishop's Walk* struck a new note in Scottish verse, and it was rather a daring stroke in these days for a Free Church divine only faintly disguised to take Archbishop Leighton as his hero. The preface indicates a reaction against the prevalent overstrained eulogy of the Covenanters, but the singular fascination of the poem was felt at the time and helped, with other influences, to sweeten the sometimes bitter taste of Presbyterian orthodoxy. George MacDonald first became known as a poet of rare spirituality in 1855 and 1860, but he discovered his true *milieu* in fiction when he published *David Elginbrod* (1862). That merits notice here as the earliest and not the least powerful of a series of novels which must be taken into account as among the most potent solvents of ultra-Calvinism—a system from which MacDonald had revolted, while retaining a passionate devotion to Christ and essential Christianity. Though he left his native Aberdeenshire when quite a young man, and most of his after-life was spent in England, he never forgot the impress of the religion of his youth. His stories are not to be treated as reliable documents so much as prose-poems reproducing, if too often in disproportionate and distorted fashion, the effect on an emotional and highly idealistic type of mind of the stern theology once typical of rural Scotland. Norman Macleod's attempts in fiction, much less iconoclastic in tone, also tended to soften the hard-shell religion of the time.

Fiction.

Essays.

The essay form of literature had several conspicuous exponents. John Brown, M.D., was first fully made known to the world as a writer of rare charm in this line by his two series of *Horæ Subsecivæ* (1858 and 1861). A deep and tender religious sense, ancestral and yet peculiar to the man, lies behind all his work, nowhere more than in *Rab*, which sold by thousands in the cheap reprint and commended him most to the general heart. From a manse in the south country there proceeded about the same time the chatty and vivacious sketches which made

famous the signature of A. K. H. B. (Andrew Kennedy Hutchison Boyd), and were published as *Recreations of a Country Parson* (1859–61). These it is easy to criticise as consisting largely of "flippant gossip" and "commonplace twaddle," [1] but they caught the public ear, and had a very agreeable if egotistic flavour. And Boyd could preach well, too, on serious themes, as his *Graver Thoughts* clearly shows. Another cleric who won fame in the lighter fields of literature was the well-beloved Dean Ramsay, whose *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character* (1857), if little more than a collection of good stories, did much to reveal the subtle harmony between the national humour and the national religion. Peter Bayne's essays, if lacking in the virile force of Hugh Miller's writings, showed more understanding of the new spiritual currents of the age. His *Christian Life* (1855) contains one of the first and best criticisms of Thomas Carlyle as a religious teacher.

Spasmodic School.

George Gilfillan went on writing more busily than ever, but the "spasmodic school" (represented in the poetry of Bailey, Dobell, and Alexander Smith) with which he was identified received its literary deathblow in Aytoun's *Firmilian* (1854), and his books now commanded less attention. He expended enormous labour on his edition of the British poets, issued a third and last series of *Literary Portraits*, and in his *History of a Man* (1856) wrote a strange kind of autobiography. His peculiar religious standpoint is best set forth in *Christianity in our Era* (1857), which he felt to be his "great intellectual and spiritual effort," though the world declined to take it as seriously as he hoped.

Sermons rarely rank as literature, and scarcely any of this period deserve to be so regarded. Those of Caird (1858) perhaps come nearest.

9. Personal

Obituary.

Twenty years after the Disruption, it was but natural that the principal actors in the great struggle should have

[1] They were so characterised by *M'Phail's Journal*.

begun to disappear from the scene. Cunningham, Gordon, and Robertson passed away in the same year (1861), preceded not long before by Hugh Miller and the older Lee. John Brown, the "grand old man" of the United Presbyterians, and Ralph Wardlaw, pre-eminent among the Congregationalists, were gathered to their fathers.

Outstanding Men.

The dominance of Candlish was still the outstanding feature of the Free Church Assembly, with Robert Buchanan as his able second in command. No other man could be thought of to succeed Cunningham in the Principalship of New College. The secret of his supremacy has never been fully revealed. He ruled by a combination of qualities—voice, pen, personal influence, mental keenness, intensity of religious force. His chief defect—lack of sympathy with other spiritual points of view—he shared with most men of his time, for he was a doer rather than a seer. No such dominance was evident in the Established Church, particularly after the death of Robertson, who led more than any other man. Pirie, Cook, Phin, were prominent in the conservative wing. Bisset of Bourtie was the most advanced in some ways of the older type of Churchmen. But nowhere more than in the Church of Scotland had the younger men a great opportunity. Quite a phalanx was pressing forward, representing various schools. Besides Tulloch and Caird, there were Boyd, Charteris, Flint, James Macgregor, Marshall Lang, Milligan, Story, Wallace, all at the outset of their ministry, destined every one to rise to eminence in the Church's counsels and work. All these men more or less looked up to Norman Macleod as an inspiring guide. In the Free Church, the star of Rainy was now distinctly above the horizon. A. B. Bruce, regarded by Fraser as one of his most promising pupils, was settled at Cardross in 1859. Marcus Dods, after passing through a long and weary period of probation, was just about to have his remarkable gifts recognised at last by a call to a Glasgow pulpit. Reference has already been made to the position of Cairns among the United Presbyterians. Of the older

men, Harper had the most weight, as was shown by his appointment to the convenership of the Union Committee. John Ker's health prevented him accepting the Home Secretaryship of the Church, but he was too brilliant a man to be a good official. The Synod was swayed by no leader—there were too many able debaters on a similar level and too much of the democratic spirit to tolerate supremacy. Lindsay Alexander was quite the most prominent figure in the ministry outside Presbyterianism. He was a liberal conservative in both theology and politics, more aristocratic in his tastes and views than his Congregational brethren in the South.

Laymen.

The lay element, while coming more to the front, was not as yet very manifest in Church affairs. The elders who spoke in Assembly and Synod were not too numerous, but men like Sheriff Barclay and Mr. Campbell Swinton in the Established Church, Murray Dunlop and Professor Miller in the Free Church, with others less known in the United Presbyterian Church (there the activities of the elders were more outside the Church courts), exerted a real influence.

Moderators.

In the roll of Moderators we note not only those who won the distinction by eminence in the high places of the field or by a merely respectable mediocrity that too often secures ecclesiastical promotion, but several who were honoured because of work of exceptional value in remote regions. In 1863 the Chair of the Free Assembly was occupied by Roderick M'Leod of Snizort, a kind of informal Bishop of Skye, and that of the United Presbyterian Synod by Alexander Young of Logiealmond (" Drumtochty " of later fiction), then in the sixty-fourth year of a romantic rural pastorate.[1]

10. Public Events

Crimean War.

The world-occurrences that most affected the Scottish Church in these years were the Crimean War (1854–56), the Indian Mutiny (1857), and the Civil War in the

[1] D. M. Forrester's book, *The Edge of the Heather.*

United States (1861 onwards). In Scotland, as in England, there were very few who realised that in backing Turkey and Napoleon III. in a war with Russia we were, in the vulgar phrase of Lord Salisbury, "putting our money on the wrong horse," and what was worse, plunging the world into a conflict even more a crime against Christianity than a huge political mistake. Preachers vied with one another in rousing the militant spirit and seeking to prove how absolutely necessary was the appeal to arms. In a typical sermon of the period the War is described as (1) a war of justice, (2) of compassion, (3) of national fidelity, (4) of hopeful result. In another we read: "Our country is fighting the battle not of a moment but of mankind." [1] The General Assembly of the Kirk declared in an address to the Queen (1854): "Feeling persuaded that the War has been undertaken in support of the weak against a powerful aggressor and for the purpose of maintaining the independence of the States of Europe, we believe it to be inevitable." The Free Assembly was as emphatic (1855): "The War is inevitable and righteous, having for its object to vindicate the independence and liberties of the nations of Europe, and, more remotely, of the world at large." Candlish preached a sermon in which he invoked the Sword of the Lord with all the fervour of an Old Testament prophet. Robert Lee was even more emphatic in defending the Crimean adventure as just and necessary. Good men had visions of a regenerated Turkey and of the opening of the East to the pure Gospel of Christ. Islam was to be "practically destroyed and a new Protestant nation added to Christendom." [2] Such utterances now make us smile and wonder. We do not doubt their sincerity, but we marvel at the ignorance of the real issues involved. Lord Aberdeen was roundly abused, in an organ of his own Church,[3] for his slackness in promoting a war in which he never thoroughly believed. His first biographer brings out an interesting fact with regard to his sensitive

[1] See *U.P. Magazine, passim*, 1854.
[2] *Christian Magazine*, edited by N. Macleod, 1857.
[3] *Church of Scotland Magazine and Review*, 1859.

conscience on this matter: "A munificent builder of kirks, manses, and schools, he declined, without giving any reason, to restore his own Parish Church of Methlick. After his death in 1860 there was found among his papers, written several times, the verse from 1 Chronicles, where David explained to Solomon that he could not himself build the House of the Lord because he had made war and shed blood." [1] Apart, however, from the rightness or wrongness of the War, as to which the Church, like the nation generally, was woefully misled, one cannot but reflect with pride on the heroism and self-sacrifice shown by Scottish soldiers and philanthropic workers. The record of Colin Campbell and the Highland Brigade is among the most thrilling in British history, and mention must also be made of the ladies who supported Florence Nightingale in her noble efforts, notably Miss Shaw-Stewart, who had charge of the nurses in the general hospital at Balaclava, Mrs. Mackenzie (a daughter of Dr. Chalmers), and Miss Erskine, of the naval hospital at Therapia.

Indian Mutiny.

The Indian Mutiny touched Scotland deeply. We have seen how it led to a new departure in Christian Missions. The name of Colin Campbell (Lord Clyde) again appears on the roll-call of military fame, with that of Sir Patrick Grant and other Scots scarcely less celebrated. Fears were at first entertained lest the changes in the government of India, especially the measures to ensure absolute fairness in the attitude towards all forms of belief, might interfere injuriously with educational and missionary work. These were speedily dispelled.

American War.

The American Civil War caused much suffering in the West of Scotland through dislocation of the cotton trade, and this rather prejudiced the cause of the North, preventing any emphatic popular pronouncement in favour of Abraham Lincoln's policy, and indeed rousing some antagonism to such an orator as Henry Ward Beecher when he came to Glasgow in 1863. But the heart of the Church, as of the nation, was sound in its opposition to the Slave system which had brought about

[1] *Life*, by Lord Stanmore, pp. 302–3.

the war, and the great majority of the real leaders of religious opinion were convinced supporters of the union as against the Southern secession.

Whig Influence.

This was the heyday of Palmerstonian Whiggery, when the tide of political and social progress was kept back for a while by costly wars and adventures abroad, and a policy of *laissez-faire* at home. Scotland was faithful to the old champion, appreciating his fiery patriotism and zeal for the liberties of the smaller European nations. "It took some courage to face a Scottish audience and say a word against Lord Palmerston and in favour of the Manchester school."[1] The appeal of a broader Liberalism was, however, beginning to tell on the people. Gladstone, elected Lord Rector of Edinburgh University in 1859, was looked upon as the coming leader of the hosts of reform, and the next decade was to see a triumphant advance.

[1] Omond's *Lord Advocates of Scotland*, p. 192.

AUTHORITIES FOR CHAPTER IV

Besides the biographies already mentioned, the earlier chapters of *Charteris* (A. Gordon), *R. H. Story* (by his daughter), and *Rainy* (Carnegie Simpson) should be consulted. These, with their contrasted points of view, are most useful guides from this time onward. Mrs. Oliphant's *Tulloch* also becomes a useful source. Story's *Lee* is of particular importance for the Worship Controversy. The Memoirs of Adam Black and Duncan Maclaren contain a good deal of interesting light on public questions. The Lives of *Harper* (Dr. A. Thomson) and *Hutton* (Dr. A. Oliver), though much inferior to that of Cairns, reflect the United Presbyterian standpoint. Sidelights may be obtained from Dr. John Brown's Letters, the Autobiography of Dr. William Blaikie (1901), some of A. K. H. B.'s Reminiscences, and the Early Letters of Marcus Dods. Home and Foreign Mission Progress is amply indicated in the denominational publications. N. L. Walker's *Chapters from the History of the Free Church of Scotland* are especially full on this period. Most of the other authorities are too various and fragmentary to be exactly stated.

CHAPTER V

1863–1874.—TOWARDS UNITY AND FREEDOM

THE years that now come under review mark a quite definite period of stir and onward movement in the Church life of Scotland. Union, though at first baffled in its partial aims, became a serious practical question. The consent of Parliament to the removal of the old stumbling-block of patronage in the Church by law established had an epoch-making significance but inadequately realised at the time. The strife over innovations in worship within the Kirk, after passing through an acute stage, ended in a victory for toleration. The controversy over the Sabbath was the first of a series of discussions destined gravely to affect the ancient landmarks. Democratic progress in the State reacted powerfully on the Church's work and ideals, especially in the sphere of national education. Theological speculation took on a bolder tone, and the period closed with a strong breath of religious revival wafted from across the Atlantic. With the year 1874 we reach the most important point in Scottish Church history since 1843, and the natural end of an era leading up to the greater developments that succeeded and that passed over into the wider spaces of the new century.

1. Union Negotiations and Proposals

Beginning of Union Movement.

The first place must be given to the initial stages of that activity towards Union of the Churches which was to continue, notwithstanding breaks and discouragements, till it became an irresistible impulse and ruling motive overbearing all hindrance and opposition. We have

seen how the lines of the Free Church and United Presbyterian advance converged in the course of twenty years so closely as to make a *rapprochement* almost inevitable. Separatist influences and associations were as yet too strong to permit the vision of a larger aim to any but a few. But it did seem at first as if the movement hopefully begun in 1863 would go forward without much obstruction to the desired goal. That the time was not ripe for an easy and speedy consummation did not become apparent for a while. The two negotiating committees began work with remarkable smoothness and unanimity. The Reformed Presbyterians, relieved from their hampering Cameronian tradition, saw their way clearly to join in the conversations. Even English Presbyterianism, drawing rapidly to a unity within itself, began to cherish the idea of a great British Church in which it might be included or to which at least it might be federated. A programme of procedure was agreed upon, placing in the forefront those questions about which difference of opinion was most likely to arise—the right relation between the Church and State (or "the civil magistrate," according to Confessional parlance), and the extent of doctrinal agreement necessary in a united body. It is doubtful whether at that period any other course would have been possible without the immediate breakdown of the negotiations. The issues made acute by the Voluntary agitation and the Ten Years' Conflict were still too near, and considered to be too vital to allow of subordination, and the fear of allowing liberty of credal interpretation within the limits of the Westminster Confession was too strong to be ignored. Yet it is now evident on looking backward that this method of procedure was bound sooner or later to give an advantage to those whose only notion of union was absorption in the interests of their own exclusive dogmas. The idea of a comprehensive Church based on essential catholic truth, with wide freedom to hold individual opinions on matters not entering into the substance of the faith, was considered too latitudinarian as well as contradictory of testimonies for which great

sacrifices had been made. Later experience has proved that this is the only way in which Church unions can be negotiated with any hope of success, but Scotland, with its record of schism and division, was not yet ready to walk along a path which seemed to mean the surrender of a good deal that was precious and the acknowledgment of mistakes once supposed to be acts of loyalty to spiritual conviction.

Agreement and Disagreement.

So the first year of conference was spent in discovering agreement and ascertaining disagreement on the vexed problem of the civil magistrate, which far more than variation in Christian doctrine was the real *crux*. For it had to be frankly admitted that the two Churches held different views on this point. In the case of the Free Church these were unmistakably embodied in its authorised documents; the United Presbyterians had taken less trouble to formulate the principles generally held by them. But recent controversies had left a legacy of more or less clear-cut opinion which found expression in two rather sharply contrasted statements. The Free Church committee declared that "the State may lawfully employ the national resources in the support of the Church's ordinances . . . and that the Church may lawfully accept such support when her spiritual independence is preserved entire." The United Presbyterian Committee, on the other hand, asserted that the Civil Magistrate is not judge for the community of what is true in religion, has not authority to prescribe a creed or form of worship, and that it is not the province of the State to provide for the expense of religious ministrations.[1] Unfortunately, while it took less than one year to bring out this conflict of views, it took more than three years to draw up a concordat of reconciliation between them. Not till 1867 was that finally approved by the joint committee, and in the interval the divergence tended to be more and more emphasised, though not yet as a necessary bar to union. The "Articles of Agreement," however,

[1] For full statements see *Report of Union Committees to Assembly and Synod of 1864.*

made it evident enough that while both denominations respected the power of the Civil Magistrate within his own sphere, they were at one in repudiating any interference by him with Christ's government in His Church, and in maintaining the essential and perpetual obligation of Christian people to support and extend the Church by their freewill offerings.

The Free Church Assembly of 1864, while practically unanimous for going forward, revealed a rift within the lute in the contention of Dr. Julius Wood that the Voluntary principle could not be regarded as an open question. He was joined in 1865 by Dr. John Forbes and a few others who insisted on a determinate conclusion on that subject before any further procedure. The minority did not number more than 16, and in 1865 it fell to less than half of that. In the United Presbyterian Synod there never was an anti-union party, the only concern of Renton of Kelso and Hutton of Paisley as Voluntary stalwarts being that their position in the united Church should not be compromised by any undue concession. The open question policy was frankly accepted by them ; it became increasingly apparent that the real battle when it came would be joined on that issue.

Doctrinal Difficulties.

Other doctrinal differences now came in to complicate the situation, though these were not at first regarded as of any consequence by the negotiating committees. They reported in 1865 that they found themselves at one, first, as to the import of the doctrinal language employed in the Confession of Faith, and, next, in receiving and holding *ex animo* the doctrine so expressed. At that stage in Scottish theological development there was no need to say more. The question of revising the Westminster standards or of modifying the formula of acceptance on any doctrinal point had not yet arisen. Only with regard to the extent of the Atonement was there any possibility of misunderstanding. The controversy in the Secession Church had certainly opened the door to wider views than were held in certain narrow Free Church circles. The " double reference " of the Atonement was objected to as " the parent of Arminian-

ism and Morisonianism," and here again the prospect of another open question gave serious concern to the ultra-orthodox. The Assembly of 1866 really marked the end of the first stage of negotiations. Dr. Robert Buchanan then reported that the whole field of inquiry had been gone over with satisfactory hopes of a common basis of union being reached, and it was agreed to send down the report to Presbyteries for their information and suggestions. Even Dr. Begg, who was now showing signs of opposition, did not object to this. But it was already apparent that the smooth sailing of the previous three years was not likely to continue, and voices were heard even on the Union side counselling delay. An overwhelming vote, nevertheless, of 439 to 7 showed the confidence of the Assembly in the prevailing policy. Mr. Spurgeon, who visited both the U.P. Synod and the Free Assembly that May, and received a very warm welcome, congratulated the Free Church on its happy freedom from party division. All too soon the pent-up storm broke forth, and the Church of the Disruption was launched upon an angry sea of strife that in one form or another troubled her for the rest of her separate existence.

The Parting of the Ways, 1867.

The meetings of the Church Courts in May 1867 brought matters to a head. By 389 votes to 39 the United Presbyterian Synod approved of the Articles of Agreement on the relations of Church and State. The chief dissentients besides Hutton and Renton were Peter Davidson of Edinburgh and Alexander Oliver of Glasgow. The question is of sufficient present interest to warrant the publication of these Articles in an appendix.[1] It was perfectly understood by the Free Church leaders that the time had come to respond by making a distinctly forward move. Dr. Candlish was to have proposed the official deliverance in the Assembly, but his health was beginning to fail, and at the last moment Dr. Rainy was called upon to step into the breach. The motion was one of bold adventure along the pathway of Union, and was designed to clear the ground for the

[1] See Appendix C.

impending battle. Satisfaction was expressed with the progress made towards agreement, and especially with the fact that on the question of the Civil Magistrate there appeared to be no bar to the Union contemplated The committee was directed to give earnest attention to the other heads of the programme, particularly those dealing with the worship, government, finance, and discipline of the Church. By his speech on this memorable occasion, Rainy firmly established his position as the coming leader of his Church. It revealed not only high statesman-like qualities, but a fervour and passion such as few believed to be characteristic of the man. The words of his peroration, which evoked loud and prolonged applause, were: "I confess it would wring my heart if after all that has come and gone we were to fall back from an approximation and go forth to work apart and fulfil what seems to be the inevitable destiny of Churches so situated, to make and find out differences (because differences do not exist), to manufacture them and to fight over them. Is it in this position we must await the future that lies before us and the coming of our Lord Jesus Christ?" Yet the challenge thus thrown down was not frankly accepted by the minority. Begg was still for reappointing the committee, though with an entire reserve of judgment. Nixon of Montrose even tabled a motion expressing satisfaction with the amount of harmony already attained, while declining to make at that stage any pronouncement of a definite and practical kind. Their speeches, however, and still more those of their supporters, show that the real object in view was to render further negotiation futile. Walker of Carnwath and Rainy in his reply made it very evident that the parting of the ways had been reached, and that talk of union was useless in face of such tactics. This had some effect on the division, for Nixon's milder proposal was on a first vote carried against that of Begg by 90 to 61. The final division was 346 for Rainy and 120 for Nixon, whereupon Begg handed in a protest and withdrew from membership of the Union committee. It was a declaration of war followed quickly by war

measures. "Hitherto," says Professor Carnegie Simpson, "anti-unionism had been a tendency, now it was an organisation." Thenceforth there was no attempt to compromise, and Begg stepped into his destined place as the champion of the obscurantist and ultra-conservative elements in the Church. There is no reason to doubt the sincerity of his motives, though his actions led him into dubious and tortuous courses. His oratorical powers, pawky humour, and skill in playing on the prejudices of his hearers made him a formidable debater. Strongly Celtic in his sympathies, he could make a special appeal to the peculiar mentality and limited outlook of Highland Free-Churchism. In this respect he had a notable henchman in Dr. Kennedy of Dingwall, a preacher of evangelical zeal and mystical temperament who deservedly wielded no little influence over the people of the North. And he had other allies. In George Smeaton he enlisted an amiable theologian with a keen scent for heresy. A much abler man was Dr. Hugh Martin, and many regretted that he devoted his acute intellectual powers to such a cause. Professor Gibson of Glasgow and William Kidston of Ferniegair, a prominent layman, represented the irreconcilable elements in the West of Scotland.

Anti-Union Agitation.

Now an elaborate machinery of agitation was set in motion. Presbyteries and even congregations were stirred to opposition where there was the slightest chance of gaining a majority. A weekly journal, *The Watchword*, was started under Begg's editorship, breathing a bitterly polemical spirit. Speakers went up and down the Highland districts where United Presbyterians were almost unknown, denouncing Voluntaryism as "national Atheism." A pamphlet war, resembling in violence that which preceded the Disruption, began to rage throughout the country. The cause of orthodoxy as well as that of established religion was declared to be in danger. While Disraeli was "dishing the Whigs" with his Reform Bill, and Gladstone was rallying his followers for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, Scotland was plunged into a hot ecclesiastical controversy that

had a certain political background. The union of the two great Dissenting bodies was feared by the Tories as a menace to the Kirk, and the old Whigs of Erastian temper were not anxious to see a large and aggressive Church free from State trammels. Those who were beginning to move for the abolition of patronage in the State Church did not wish to have their efforts checkmated by a powerful adverse combination on the chessboard, and it cannot be doubted that not a few underground wires were pulled to prevent the achievement on which Candlish and Cairns and the great bulk of the Christian people in both the Free and the U.P. Churches had set their hearts. But perhaps the determining factor which thwarted the Union for the time being was the emergency of a middle party in the Free Assembly that was decidedly averse to union at the price of rending asunder the Church of 1843, which to them was more sacrosanct than any more comprehensive and more liberal Church could possibly be. "Disruption pride" was a very potent influence at that period, and it had to be lived down before a thoroughly satisfactory union could be achieved. This middle party was not large, and some of its members had more affinities with the intransigent minority than with the progressive majority, but it carried weight and commanded respect. The Bonars—Andrew and Horatius—and Moody Stuart represented the fervent evangelical type associated with early Free Church revivalism, and when they came out definitely against union other good men were disposed to waver. And some who had warmly supported the proposals when first brought forward grew cool in their attitude when they saw the clouds gather. Yet the credit or discredit of blocking the union movement undoubtedly belongs to Begg and his immediate following, who very speedily made it evident that they were ready to go all lengths to defeat it, even to the extent of challenging the decision of the Assembly by appeal to the civil courts. The indignation aroused by this threat was so warm that the leaders of the majority persevered in the forward policy for two or three years

even after they were conscious of coming failure. Rightly, however, they desired that the better mind of the Church should be perfectly clear and distinctly manifested before any call to retreat was sounded. The remaining stages of the conflict concern the Free Church alone. The United Presbyterian Synod could do little now but look on and await the course of events with an increasing feeling of disappointment.

Continued Trouble.

The first-fruits of the anti-union agitation were seen at the Assembly of 1868, when 57 hostile overtures and petitions crowded the table. Threats of legal action became vocal, and an attempt was made to reverse the verdict of the previous year. The Committee, which had latterly been dealing with the less vexed questions of Church property and finance, did not venture on any further deliverance, and only suggested continued friendly discussion and prayerful consideration. Yet there was the usual party vote of 427 to 115, and no sign of any cessation in the strife. In 1869 the situation was still so acute that the Union leaders were content to suggest that the report—now complete—should be published for the information of the people, who were invited to unite in prayer for the Divine guidance. This peaceful proposal only drew forth the most extreme motion yet made in opposition—"that no further steps be taken till negotiations can be resumed with due regard to Scriptural principles and the peace of the Church." This was supported in a three hours' speech by Dr. Nixon, whose fiery and voluminous oratory was an outstanding feature of these debates. As was pointed out by Dr. Candlish and Sir Henry Moncreiff, the anti-unionists were now bent on forcing their view of the civil magistrate's function on all within the Church, and thus making it impossible for any Voluntaries honestly to remain in its communion. The numbers of the opposition fell on this occasion to 89, but when the Assembly of 1870 came round it had to face what was really the beginning of a crisis. Before the debate began a protest was tabled by Professor Gibson on behalf of his party—it was the last appearance in the Assembly of this deter-

mined fighter—declaring it *ultra vires* of the Assembly to alter, modify, or compromise any of the fundamental or essential doctrines or principles of the Free Church, or to suggest to the Presbyteries the consideration of any such questions, and further declaring that in taking part in any discussion leading to a decision on such lines they would not be bound thereby, and would be entitled to maintain all their rights and privileges, and to adopt all competent means to obtain redress. The reading of this protest was received with "loud and continued hissing"—a proof of the high state of excitement which prevailed. There had been some talk before then of a conciliatory policy on the other side, and the middle party was prepared to intervene, but this latest move aroused so much feeling that the majority, led by Dr. Candlish in one of his strongest utterances, took a bolder course than was expected and sent down the report to Presbyteries with the clear question to be answered: "Whether apart from other considerations bearing on the present movement there is any objection in principle to the formation of an incorporating union among the negotiating Churches on the footing and basis of the Westminster Confession of Faith as at present accepted by the said Churches." On this occasion the vote was 379 to 144.

Fear of Schism.

One more year of persistent and unscrupulous agitation convinced the promoters of union that incorporation could not be carried without a serious schism and consequent proceedings in the law courts. True, the verdict of the Presbyteries was quite emphatic. In the Free Church, of the 75 reporting, 49 approved of union on the basis of the Confession, only 14 objected, while 12 were more or less neutral. In the United Presbyterian Church all the 31 Presbyteries approved. But the reluctance on the part of moderate men to consent to force on a union with the risks it involved, and the increasing truculence of the opposition, made further progress at that time impossible except in the direction of closer co-operation. So, in the hope that this would result at last in a temporary peace, Sir Henry Moncreiff—

always a keen advocate of union, but by training and temperament a mediator and a cautious ecclesiastical lawyer—made a motion, which Dr. Candlish seconded, practically suspending negotiations on the large scale, but directing the attention of the Committee to the measures best fitted to bring the Churches into more intimate and friendly relations. The motion, however, which was practically drafted by Rainy, made a declaration of the Church's " great fundamental and characteristic principles," which excluded establishment and endowment, and pointed to a postponement, not an abandonment of the union. Therefore it encountered as fierce a hostility from Dr. Begg and his friends as if they had suggested immediate steps to make the two Churches one. Nothing would satisfy them but that the movement should cease and the Committee be discharged. Again the redoubtable Nixon employed all his exuberance of invective, and vehement speeches against every form of compromise were made by Begg, Kidston, and the usual fighting men of their side. They actually increased their adverse vote to 165 against 435, and tabled a protest signed by over a hundred names. Nothing could have proved more strikingly how difficult it is to allay any ecclesiastical quarrel when once it is stirred into unholy activity. The demon of party spirit had taken such possession of a section of the Free Church that any concession suggested by the majority seemed only to intensify its violence.

Mutual Eligibility.

So when in 1872 the Union Committee brought forward a plan of Mutual Eligibility, according to which the ministers of the negotiating bodies might be called to congregations outside their own denomination and settled over them on acceptance of the formulæ in vogue, it was opposed with as much bitterness as ever. Sixty thousand persons had affixed their names to a memorial protesting against any further discussion of union and demanding a return to the *status quo* before 1863. Dr. Kennedy of Dingwall for the first time broke silence in the Assembly, and contended that the new proposal implied all the compromise of principle that would be

involved in an incorporating union. Additional spectres were raised by succeeding speakers. The introduction of United Presbyterians into the Free Church ministry would mean the driving of religious instruction out of the schools and the sanctioning of instrumental music in worship. As against the sending down of the Mutual Eligibility scheme in the form of an overture under the Barrier Act, Dr. Samuel Miller moved the entire suspension of negotiations, and he carried into the lobby 172, the high-water mark of the minority, while the majority fell to 369. The figures were ominous and gave encouragement to the dissentients, who now openly threatened disruption and proceedings before the civil courts if Mutual Eligibility were approved by the following Assembly. On the other hand, it was felt by the majority that to refuse to admit Voluntaries into the ministry of the Free Church, even though willing to sign its official documents, was tantamount to making the Establishment principle a term of office, and so rendering untenable the position of those in the Free Church who openly declared that they no longer held it. Dr. Begg obtained opinion of counsel, not published till 1874, which seemed to strengthen his case. The Union Committee also had a legal consultation, not so formal, which convinced them that in the matter of Mutual Eligibility there was no danger to be feared. Before the Assembly met in 1873, initial steps were taken to raise a fund to fight the threatened battle in the courts, and any further compromise appeared to be impossible.

The Final Encounter, 1873.

Such were the critical circumstances in which the lists were cleared for the final encounter. Not since 1843 had an Assembly come together with such a sense of gravity and impending disaster. This was reflected in the speeches of the veterans Robert Buchanan and R. S. Candlish. Both of them felt the agony of the situation so intensely that it may be said without hesitation that they were hastened thereby to their death. Buchanan expressed the feeling that he had lived too long in having lived to see that day—a day he could not but regard as one of blasted hopes and blasted prospects for his

country and his Church. He regarded the proposals made as constituting the very minimum of what was compatible with the Church's honour and safety. Candlish, to whom it fell to move that the overture be passed into law, closed with poignant words which none could hear without emotion: "We take the attitude of beaten men. We surrender. We surrender to a minority. They have got the victory. They have compelled us to desist from prosecuting the movement towards incorporating union." But he went on to say: "The Lord's hand is in the arrest—the hand of an offended God, a God to whom we have given umbrage, against whom, in short, we have sinned. . . . I do trust there will be much humiliation, much acknowledgment of sin, and much prayer. I hope our prayer will be for the speedy revival of the Union movement. I do not expect to see it. I do not expect my beloved brother, Dr. Buchanan, to see it. I am no prophet, but I do venture to predict that you will not all be in your graves before that day comes, and that there will be a goodly remnant of you when that day comes. Sir, we cannot stem the tide of Christian opinion and Christian feeling."

The anti-unionists at first showed little sign of departure from their wrecking policy. Dr. Begg professed to see in this latest phase of the controversy as clear a ground for separation as in the old Disruption days. But some of his followers shrank from the consequences of another schism on such narrow grounds. Nixon got the length of saying that he did not object absolutely to the calling of U.P. men if proper care were taken to see that they held "Free Church principles." Private conferences took place during an interval in the sittings of the Assembly, in which Dr. Thomas Smith, a consistent opponent of union who yet had in him the instincts of a peacemaker, took a prominent part, and the result was a slight adjustment of language, making clear the assumption that United Presbyterian ministers called in the future to Free churches would have no difficulty about accepting Free Church doctrine. So in a somewhat ignoble fashion this second ten years' conflict

End of the Conflict.

came to an end. The defeated majority tendered a document which was signed by 525 ministers and elders, and stands on record as an honest deliverance of their souls to posterity. As one of them said in old Scottish legal phraseology at the farewell meeting of the Joint Committee : "We have taken infeft of union." But from the Mutual Eligibility Act practically nothing ensued. The minority had really succeeded in rendering it so grudging and ungenerous that no United Presbyterian minister with self-respect could very well take advantage of it. As a matter of fact, only three Free Church ministers were called under its conditions, and one of them returned ultimately to his old denomination. Its very futility went to prove that an incorporating union was the only possible policy to bring the two Churches together, and that there was no real alternative course between organic union and continued separation.

What might have happened.

One is tempted to indulge in an interesting speculation : What would have happened if the crisis of 1900 had been antedated by a quarter of a century and a disruption in 1873 had led, as would almost certainly have been the case, to union of the Free Church majority with the United Presbyterians a year or two later ? Undoubtedly a Church litigation that in its results would in all probability have anticipated the history of 1904–5. Possibly, though one cannot be sure of this, a different ending to the Disestablishment agitation that lay ahead. Robertson Smith might have been retained in his professorship. Events would certainly have moved more rapidly in a progressive direction. But we are inclined to think that the check which came just when it did was proof that Scotland was not at this time fully prepared for a positive and fruitful movement in the field of Church unity. Another generation had to pass ere the growing sense of catholicity could overcome the forces of sectarian prejudice.

Practical Results.

Yet these conferences were not without practical consequences in the form of Church amalgamation. The Reformed Presbyterians continued their negotiations with the Free Church, and soon brought them to a

successful conclusion. The English Presbyterians, who had been divided into two sections—one so closely allied to the Free Church as to be on terms of mutual eligibility, and the other directly connected with the United Presbyterian Synod—hastened to unite in one body, this result having been delayed only through the hope of their finding a place in the larger union.

A Vision of Reconstruction.

And already on the horizon there appeared a vision of a reconstruction of Scottish Presbyterianism, dismissed by most men at the time as utterly Utopian, but interesting now to contemplate in the light of later events. Alexander Taylor Innes, an advocate at the Scottish Bar, was from his youth a careful student of the legal constitution of the Church with special regard to its creed. Loyally attached to the Free Church, he had difficulties about its rigid terms of subscription, for he suspected that its complex, ancient, and unrevised creed tended to make it schismatic in tendency. But Rainy had sympathy with his scruples, and in 1860 admitted him as a communicant. Two years later he was elected to the eldership, which he declined because of his views in favour of creed revision, then a heresy not to be tolerated in the case of an office-bearer. Giving himself to the investigation of the credal question in its bearings on the ecclesiastical history of his country, in which study he was encouraged by Charteris, he published in 1867 his epoch-making book on *The Law of Creeds in Scotland*. It opened up quite new points of view, and some of these he further elucidated in two letters to the *Daily Review* in February 1868. Taylor Innes declared that the duty of the Free Church was not at all yet exhausted in relation to the Established Church, and that the attempt of any one Scottish Church to set itself up in permanent separation claiming to be *the* Church of Scotland was not only schismatic and sectarian, but destructive of the only principle on which it could claim to be free. Further, he maintained that any attempt to base the Free Church on constitutional ground peculiar to itself instead of upon the general ground of conscience common to it with the older branches of the Kirk would prove its whole con-

tendings at the Disruption period to be illogical and false. On this he founded an argument not only for union of Presbyterianism outside the Establishment, but for a reconstructed Church of Scotland on a basis of spiritual independence. "In these days of startling change," he asked, "is there anything impossible in the idea that all parties may soon again form one Church; that the State which is and has been the great divider may take the needed step towards restoring to unity that Church which has the same anti-Erastian doctrine in its standards and the same history to look back upon?"[1] This was a voice crying in the wilderness, and many mountains and hills had to be made low before it could obtain a general hearing. But even from the side of the Established Church, where the idea of reunion had been for more than twenty years not so much as mentioned, feelers began to be thrown out. Professor T. J. Crawford in his Moderatorial Address of 1867 was the first to give a distinct public leading in that direction. In 1869 an overture was brought up before the Assembly by Forfar Presbytery, pressing for the adoption of a union policy. It was favourably received in a thin house, and though nothing definite was done in response, private communications took place in which Professor Mitchell of St. Andrews, Professor Charteris, Mr. Taylor Innes, and even Dr. Rainy were more or less concerned. Charteris went so far (in a letter to Taylor Innes, September 5, 1869) as to formulate heads of a union programme which is well worth re-reading as a partial anticipation of later proposals. It included not only the abolition of patronage, but the proclamation of spiritual independence, the funding of teinds, a gigantic Sustentation Fund, and a Commission to prevent overlapping.[2] Yet it is not difficult to perceive how these efforts were premature. The situation between the Free and the United Presbyterian Churches was too delicate to be disturbed by such a shifting of the scene. The Disestablishment of the Irish Church seemed to point

Overtures from the Established Church.

Premature Efforts.

[1] In *Studies in Scottish History* (1892), pp. 202–3.

[2] See Gordon's *Life of Charteris*, chap. xi.

to a very different kind of solution, and, above all, there was no approximation in opinion and feeling, not to speak of co-operation, between the estranged Churches that could ensure a hearty acceptance of any suggestions of the kind. Still the Church of Scotland leaders thought it worth while to keep the matter open. Two other Presbyteries, Dunkeld and Kirkcaldy, joined with Forfar at the 1870 Assembly in craving that formal communications should be entered upon with the other Presbyterian Churches. The official motion, proposed by Dr. William Smith and unanimously carried, expressed " hearty willingness and desire to take all possible steps consistent with the principles on which the Church was founded to promote the reunion of Churches having a common origin, adhering to the same Confession of Faith and the same system of government and worship." A Committee was appointed with Dr. Charteris as convener, but it could do little more than watch the progress of events in the hope of intervening if a favourable opportunity arose. Instead of that opportunity coming there were only fresh causes of misunderstanding and division. The breakdown of the Free and United Presbyterian negotiations and the circumstances under which the Patronage Act was passed did not tend to sweeten the atmosphere. Other resources had to be exhausted, other controversies had to run their course, other political and religious conditions had to emerge, before a union of the whole Church in Scotland could come out of the region of dream and theory into one of reality.

2. The Abolition of Patronage[1]

For eight years—1857–65—the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland exhausted all means to amend the Church Benefices Act associated with the name of Lord Aberdeen. The expense of working it, the protracted local controversies to which it gave rise, the legal wrangling on sacred subjects which occupied much precious time of the Supreme Court, the ordeal to which

[1] See Appendix D, "History of Patronage in the Church of Scotland."

the character of all parties concerned was subjected, and the inherent uncertainty of the whole procedure, finally convinced the Assembly that an Act which had been hastily devised after the Disruption to counteract the abuses of the Patronage system was past the stage of mending. In 1865 the last committee of inquiry was discharged, and a new chapter began with the action of Edinburgh Presbytery in April 1866 passing by a majority of 22 to 2 an overture to the Assembly asking it " to take into its serious consideration the present Law of Patronage, with the view of obtaining some modification of the same." The mover was the Rev. J. Elder Cumming of Newington, Edinburgh, afterwards of Sandyford, Glasgow, a young minister of pronounced evangelical views who afterwards became a leader in the Keswick Convention. When the overture came before the Assembly it received the influential support of Dr. Pirie of Aberdeen and Dr. William Smith of North Leith, and, notwithstanding the strong opposition of not only the old Moderates, but of Dr. Muir of St. Stephen's, it was agreed to appoint a committee to give the serious consideration desired. The committee reported to the Assembly of 1867 that the time had come when the patron system might be modified with advantage. They submitted three plans, none of them very radical, but all pointing to some kind of popular election or veto. The conservative element in the Church raised a cry of alarm ; and, indeed, the variety of schemes suggested tended to bewilderment, so Dr. Cook, the chief champion of the Moderate tradition, succeeded in carrying by 126 to 124 a motion refusing to approve of any of the plans and discharging the committee. This was the last victory of reaction. It was sufficiently evident by the number of overtures tabled at the following Assembly (from five Synods and nineteen Presbyteries, all but one in favour of a change in the Law of Patronage) that the question could no longer be trifled with. The mind of the Church was set on reform.

The Movement Begins.

There were many influences in 1868 beside the confessed failure of the Aberdeen Act which were work-

Influences at Work

ing in favour of a more or less drastic anti-Patronage policy. Irish Disestablishment was looming ahead, and the fear was beginning to be felt that the Scottish Establishment would have difficulty in defending itself against democratic attack, unless reconstructed on a popular basis. For democracy, conscious of its new power gained by the 1867 Reform Act, was not likely to tolerate a principle in the Church which had been repudiated by the State. Then the increased opposition manifesting itself in the Free Church to union with the United Presbyterians indicated a possible turning of the tables by enlisting " constitutional " Free Church opinion on the side of a liberated State Church. Informal communications, as we have already seen, were taking place on the question of a larger union. Not only astute politicians, but zealous Churchmen were eager to avail themselves of what seemed to be a great opportunity. We can now see what was obscured at the time by the din of party conflict, that the progressive elements in the Church of Scotland were honestly combining with common-sense conservatives to get rid of an intolerable abuse, however mistaken they may have been in supposing that the desired Parliamentary occasion would either heal the hurt of the Disruption or conciliate a militant Voluntaryism.

Inquiry into Law of Patronage.

Faced with the necessity of doing something, the Assembly in May 1868 decided after much debate, on the motion of Principal Tulloch, to institute a comprehensive inquiry as to whether any modification of the Law of Patronage was called for and could be made, with power to confer with patrons on the subject. Though this seemed to be but a slight advance on the proposal carried two years before, it really led to the revelation of a state of opinion that forced the question at once into the realm of practical politics. Fifty-eight out of 79 Presbyteries declared for a change in the Law, and so even did a majority of the patrons. The committee of inquiry therefore suggested that steps be taken to transfer the power of appointment in each parish to a board composed of (1) heritors, being members of

the Church ; (2) elders of the parish ; and (3) male communicants in a certain proportion. But before the 1869 Assembly met it became clear that the committee was lagging behind the increasing push of the anti-Patronage agitation. Principal Tulloch, its convener, who was not zealous for abolition, and was committed only to " recognition of popular rights," had taken ill and was no longer able or willing to direct the movement. Sir Robert Anstruther, M.P., the leading lay supporter of reform, proposed rather to move for a Select Committee of the House of Commons. Mr. Gladstone was now in power, the Disestablishment of the Irish Church was almost an accomplished fact, the danger of delay was manifest, and it was hoped to avert threatened disaster by a frank democratising of the Scottish Kirk. The Assembly, led by Dr. Pirie, showed a majority of more than 2 to 1 (193 to 88) in favour of sweeping change, and that vote was followed up two days later by another of 185 to 74, authorising the Moderator (Norman Macleod) to sign a petition to both Houses of Parliament for the removal of Patronage. No time was lost in proceeding to action. Sir Robert Anstruther got a promise from Mr. Gladstone to receive a deputation, and a fortnight later there took place a memorable interview when the Church of Scotland leaders, accompanied by 36 of the 60 Scottish M.P.'s, stated their case to the Premier, and had to face a good deal of questioning from one who was never more in his element than in an atmosphere of ecclesiastical dialectics. He showed great familiarity with the Disruption controversy, and was very anxious to know what attitude was likely to be taken by the Free Church in face of these new proposals. At Mr. Gladstone's request the Patronage Committee drew up an historical statement on the subject, which was afterwards published, and is a good epitome of the Church of Scotland's case.[1] Stress was laid on the fact that according to the Registrar-General's Report of Marriages for 1866, 43·87 per cent. of the whole were celebrated by ministers of the Established Church, which nearly corresponded with statistics

Action resolved upon.

Historical Statement drawn up.

[1] *Statement of Law of Church Patronage,* Blackwood, 1870.

compiled by the Education Commission showing that 44·4 of the population claimed some kind of connection with it, the large towns, however, not being included in this estimate. The number of livings in which Patronage belonged to the Crown amounted to 319. About 600 were in the hands of lay patrons, and 110, mostly newly erected parishes, were subject to popular election. The plea of the statement was, however, by no means to the mind of Dr. Cook of Haddington and other old Moderate leaders, and they made their protest public.

Mr. Gladstone's Attitude.

Nor does Mr. Gladstone seem to have been at all keen about the legislation desired, though some members of his Government, notably the Duke of Argyll, who at the beginning of his public life had done all he could to prevent the Disruption, were more than willing to see it through. The Prime Minister could not forget that his accession to power had been strenuously opposed by the clergy of the Church of Scotland. He had travelled far from the days when his *Essay on Church and State* had caused Macaulay to describe him as "the rising hope of the stern and unbending Tories." Nor did his attitude towards the Irish Church incline him to treat the Scottish Kirk with special favour. The General Assembly had petitioned against Irish Disestablishment by a majority of 136 to 37. It was also steadfastly opposed to the lines of Government policy on the national education question. We cannot therefore wonder that in the political sphere the omens were not then favourable for any recognition of the Church's claims. In the House of Lords on May 9, 1871, Lord

Lord Rosebery,

Rosebery in one of his earlier speeches—he was just twenty-four years of age—put a question to the Government as to their legislative intentions. He had been roused by a peculiarly scandalous case of municipal patronage at his own doors in the Parish of Queensferry, and was anxious for a change in the Law. But the Duke of Argyll, who spoke for the Cabinet, while mentioning his own willingness to abandon his extensive rights as a patron, could hold out no hope of a Bill in the near future. Not till two years later—June 1873—

First Parliamentary Discussion.

was the matter raised in both Houses of Parliament—in the House of Lords by the Earl of Airlie, and in the House of Commons by Sir Robert Anstruther, who moved that it was expedient for the Government to take the whole subject into consideration with a view to legislation as to the appointment and settlement of ministers in the Church of Scotland. He was seconded by Mr. E. S. Gordon, Dean of Faculty and Member for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities, whose earnest advocacy in the Assembly of the abolition of Patronage marked him out as Parliamentary leader of the movement in the event of his party coming back into power. But the motion received little favour in a preponderatingly Liberal House of Commons. Duncan M'Laren from the Voluntary standpoint offered it strong opposition. Only the few Conservative members for Scotland were enthusiastic about it. Mr. Gladstone, however, went the length of promising an investigation "at the earliest fitting opportunity to gather material and satisfy the House as to the real convictions and wishes of the people of Scotland in regard to the Law of Patronage." In private, however, he did not conceal his opinion that the whole Church and State question was being raised, and Taylor Innes records an impetuous inquiry addressed to him at this time: "Is Scotland now ready for Disestablishment?"[1] Little more than six months later his Government was defeated at the polls. Immediately, as we shall see, the question of popularising the Scottish Kirk entered the realm of practical politics.

The Mind of Scotland.

Meanwhile the mind of Scotland was more clearly manifested with each succeeding Assembly. The Commission in March 1871 approved the suggestions for an Act of Parliament. The remaining Moderates gave up the fight. No attempt, however, was made to conciliate the other Scottish Churches, and when the Free Church Assembly met in 1872 the question of Disestablishment came at once to the front. The Assembly was asked in several overtures "to consider the propriety of continuing in Scotland a Church established which

[1] *Chapters of Reminiscence*, p. 117.

has ceased to represent the mind of the nation, which is no longer necessary for its religious instruction, and whose existence as an Establishment forms the chief obstacle to the religious unity of the great mass of the Scottish people." Rainy secured a majority of 322 to 84 for a motion declaring that the anti-Patronage proposals did not affect the ground of separation, and were not fitted to bring about a reunion of Scottish Presbyterianism, distinctly threatening an anti-Establishment agitation, and appointing a committee to watch over the question. "My conviction," he said, "is growing in strength day by day that the only resolution consistent with the interests of the country and the Churches is by disestablishment." Begg and his party opposed the motion, deprecating exceedingly any appearance of grudging greater freedom to the Church of Scotland, though hinting that more was necessary to make that liberty complete. The United Presbyterian Synod that same month took a still stronger action in appointing a Disestablishment Committee with Hutton of Paisley as convener. Neither from an ecclesiastical nor a political point of view were the conditions then hopeful for the smooth passage of an Anti-Patronage Bill, but the fall of Gladstone from power at the General Election of 1874 changed the whole situation.

Disraeli's Attitude.

Disraeli's knowledge of the Scottish Church question was not much better than that of the average Englishman, but he was astute enough to recognise who were his political friends and who his foes, and therefore was ready to do a good turn to what at that time was a bulwark of Conservatism in the most Liberal part of the Kingdom. In a curious passage in *Lothair* (1870) he makes Monsignor Berwick, one of his characters, "the greatest statesman of Rome," say: "At this moment the Established and the Free Kirks are mutually sighing for some compromise which may bring them together again, and if the proprietors would give up their petty patronage some flatter themselves that it might be arranged. But we are thoroughly well informed, and have provided for all this. We sent two of our best men to Scotland some

time ago, and they have invented a new Church called the United Presbyterian. John Knox himself was never more mischievous. The United Presbyterians will do the business. They will render Scotland simply impossible to live in, and when the crisis arrives the distracted and despairing millions will find refuge in the bosom of their only mother." [1] This can only be regarded as the absurdly satirical freak of a romancer, but certainly the new Premier had no more sturdy and consistent opponents anywhere than the United Presbyterians of Scotland, and he was quite alive to the opportunity of dealing them a side blow. In E. S. Gordon, his Lord Advocate, he had an adviser at his elbow who was sure to make the most of this chance in the interests of the Church he loved. The Duke of Richmond and Gordon, the Government leader in the House of Lords, had already declared himself in favour of a surrender of the patrons' rights. There was as yet no congestion of business in Parliament; the pigeon-holes were unusually empty of legislative projects, and no time was lost by the principal movers in the Church of Scotland in pressing for Parliamentary action. They were successful almost beyond expectation. Three months after the meeting of the new Parliament a Bill had assumed shape, and on May 18—the thirty-first anniversary of the Disruption—was introduced into the House of Lords. It was more democratic than had been expected, for the heritors found no place on the electoral roll, and the appointment of ministers was transferred from patrons to male communicants in every parish, nomination to be made through a specially chosen committee. Compensation was granted to patrons to an amount not exceeding one year's stipend. In moving the first reading of the Bill, the Duke of Richmond and Gordon said emphatically: "It will extend and perpetuate the Established Church of Scotland." The peers received the measure with general approval. One or two, such as the Earls of Selkirk and Lauderdale, saw in it a dangerous concession to popular ideas. Only the Earl of Dalhousie, who as

Introduction of Bill into House of Lords, 1874.

[1] *Lothair*, chap. ix.

Mr. Fox Maule had been in the thick of the 1843 controversy, contended that the Bill did not touch the main cause of the Disruption, the question of spiritual independence, and that so far as the Patronage grievance was concerned an amicable agreement might be come to between patrons and parishioners. The young Earl of Aberdeen consented cheerfully to the repeal of his grandfather's Act. The Duke of Argyll was enthusiastic, and a suggestion of his to widen the basis of election so as to include " other members of the congregation " as well as communicants was adopted in committee. By June 9 the Bill was safely through the House of Lords. In the interval, the General Assembly had convened. It was understood that any amendment it approved of would receive friendly consideration, but only in one point was a change insisted upon. By acclamation it was agreed that the restriction of election to *male* communicants should be removed, and the Government consented. Proposals made to extend election to " the whole rate-paying parishioners professing themselves Protestant Christians " (Dr. Wallace) and " inhabitants of parishes of full age and in communion with any of the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland " (Sir Robert Anstruther) were decisively rejected. Dr. Cook contented himself with a lamentation over " the most sweeping and revolutionary measure that has ever been proposed in regard to the Church of Scotland since it was established." Mr. Duncan M'Laren, M.P., one of its chief opponents from the Voluntary side, expressed a similar opinion in the House of Commons. It was " the most revolutionary Bill ever passed with regard to Scotland since the period of the Union." But in the Assembly the mood of congratulation was in the ascendant. Dr. Pirie, stout old Tory as he ever was, gloried in the concession of popular rights. Charteris and the new Evangelical school looked for great things from a Church set free from an incubus that had pressed on it for more than a hundred and sixty years.

Views of General Assembly.

There could be no doubt as to the verdict of the House of Commons with its assured Conservative

House of Commons Debate.

majority, but the two days' second reading debate on July 6 and 7 was full of interest. Sixty-four petitions had been presented against the Bill, signed by 4694 persons, and 348 in its favour signed by 48,000. Mr. W. E. Baxter, who led the opposition, moved "that the House consider it inexpedient to legislate on the subject of Patronage in the Church of Scotland without further inquiry and information." He held that an Establishment with little more than one-third of the population belonging to it had no right to special treatment of this kind. The sensation of the hour was, however, the energetic irruption of Mr. Gladstone, who since his defeat at the polls at the General Election had withdrawn from leadership of the Liberal Party, but was drawn back into the arena by the almost simultaneous appearance of two Church Bills, this relating to Patronage in Scotland and the other to the regulation of Anglican ritual. His speech in seconding Mr. Baxter's amendment, delivered with great passion, was deeply resented by the promoters of the measure, and the biographer of Dr. Charteris (a son of Lord Advocate Gordon) betrays a rather bitter political animus in referring to this episode, quoting Disraeli's sneer at his rival as "a sophisticated rhetorician inebriated with the exuberance of his own verbosity," and accusing him of "peerless audacity," "dog-in-the-manger argument," and so forth. But Gladstone was quite consistent with himself. He had a year before refused to go further without an investigation into the grievance, as it affected the whole Church situation in Scotland. He still contended that the Dissenters had to be considered before any final solution was arrived at, and he refused to accept what he regarded as a partial and inadequate settlement, though intimating his willingness to assist the General Assembly if it endeavoured to bring about a union on terms of fraternal equality. "What are you going to do," he asked, "for those people whom you drove out of the Established Church, now that you propose to adopt principles for which they contended?" Disraeli, in reply, maintained that the Free Church

resigned from the Establishment and were not driven out, and that the Church of Scotland was now removing the great obstacle to their returning. Mr. A. J. Balfour, who had entered Parliament only that year as Member for Hertford, held that the Bill was forced upon them by the historical course of events in Scotland, and denied that one religious sect could have vested interests in the abuses of another. Campbell-Bannerman, on the other hand, anticipated little good from an attempt to put the new wine of democracy into the old bottle of the State Church. Patronage was only the overt occasion of the Disruption. The Free Church went out on the higher ground of spiritual independence. Dr. Cameron, one of the Members for Glasgow, and Duncan M'Laren clearly pointed to Disestablishment as the only satisfactory issue, and were supported by English Nonconformists. Dr. Lyon Playfair advocated a larger policy of comprehension. The division showed 307 for the second reading, 109 against. Out of the 60 Scottish Members, 32 voted in its favour—17 Conservatives and 15 Liberals; 24 were in the "No" lobby, all Liberal representatives. Mr. Gladstone, though he carried the majority of his party with him, was unable to overcome the general feeling that a Church thus willing to liberalise its constitution ought not to be prevented doing so by the complications of a difficult ecclesiastical situation.

Passing of Bill.

The Bill went through its remaining stages practically unchanged. In its final form the right of election to benefices was vested in the regular communicants along with such adherents as the Church through its own Courts might decide to admit to the roll in each parish. This had specially in view the case of Highland parishes where the communicants were quite a small proportion of the congregation. Presbyteries were given the power of election when after a vacancy of six months any congregation failed to exercise its power of choice. In December the Commission of the General Assembly, then first explicitly recognised by statute, met and framed regulations to be observed in accordance with the Act, which came into force on January 1, 1875.

Significance of the Measure.

The passing of the Anti-Patronage Act undoubtedly marked a very important stage in the onward development of Scottish Presbyterianism, though it has to be remembered that after all it was only a reversion to the democratic ideals of the Reformation, held in check for a long period in the Established Church by Erastian and Moderate influences. Its chief significance lay in the fact that it brought all the branches of the common stock into line as to the acknowledgment of the rights of the Christian people in the choice of their ministers, and revealed a more favourable attitude than formerly by the secular government towards spiritual claims. As a measure intended to heal at once the hurt caused by the Secession and the Disruption it was a disappointment and a failure for several reasons. The time was not ripe for a united and friendly movement to get rid of old abuses and start on an entirely new course. There was too much suspicion and antagonism on both sides. A Bill confessedly promoted with the design of strengthening the Church as it was could not be thankfully accepted by its rivals. Nor was any serious attempt made to grapple with the root evils involved in State control. It cost Parliament and the patrons very little to surrender a privilege that had become a constant source of irritation, and the boon conferred upon the Church had too much of the flavour of party political expediency. Retaliation rather than reconciliation was the immediate consequence, and the general life of Scotland was further embittered by an agitation for Disestablishment which came very near success. Yet one cannot blame the leaders of the Church of Scotland for pursuing the course they did in the interests of religion and of their own communion. The yoke of Patronage had become intolerable, and they were justified in asking the State to remove what it had imposed. If they made a tactical mistake in not approaching the other Churches in preliminary consultation, it must be admitted that their neighbours were not then in a mood to listen to them, and that no settlement by consent was in sight. And it is certain that no mere declaration of

the spiritual independence of the Church such as was at one time proposed to insert in the Bill would have been of any practical use. It was quite possible to overestimate the good results of the abolition of Patronage in the Kirk, and they took a considerable time to show themselves, but at least an essential step was taken towards the ultimate solution of the Scottish ecclesiastical problem. The vision of a Free Church in a Free State became clearer on the horizon.

3. The Battle over Innovations

For three years—1864–67—during the remainder of Dr. Robert Lee's lifetime, the Church of Scotland was deeply agitated by the strife over innovations in worship. Certainly the champion of change gave his brethren no rest. Not content with waiting for the report of the committee appointed by the Assembly of 1863 "to consider the whole question," he published before its appearance the first instalment of a treatise on Church Reform, in which he dealt with all the vexed matters concerning worship, and showed himself absolutely impenitent in his advocacy of liturgical forms, instrumental music, etc. Yet the result of the committee's deliberations submitted to the 1864 Assembly manifested a desire for compromise and peace. It was advised that postures in worship should be left to the discretion of kirk-sessions and congregations. While attention was directed to Lee's action in reading printed prayers and introducing a harmonium, no procedure was suggested by way of discipline. Dr. Pirie, who was understood to be the most determined opponent of innovations, occupied the Moderator's Chair, and therefore could not well intervene in the discussion. This was a fortunate circumstance for Lee and his friends, as the official deliverance for the adoption of the report moved by Dr. Macpherson of Aberdeen only went the length of expressing the determination of the Assembly "to put in force the laws of the Church in respect to any innovations whereby

Desire for Compromise.

the harmony of particular congregations or the peace of the Church in general is disturbed." Cook, the procurator of the Church, could only muster 64 votes against 154 for an amendment enjoining the Presbytery of Edinburgh to inquire into the facts and practices in Old Greyfriars. Such an unexpected victory for a policy of toleration—for it really amounted to that—gave great joy to the Reforming party, but their rejoicing was premature. Before the summer was over, a discussion was raised in the Edinburgh Presbytery over Dr. Lee's views and activities, and his opponents throughout the Church did everything possible to reopen the question. One Synod and seven Presbyteries overtured the Assembly to deal with the alleged innovations.

An Unexpected Victory.

On the other side, a distinct challenge was thrown down by the formation of the Church Service Society. Three young ministers, Campbell of Eastwood, Cameron Lees of Paisley, and Story of Rosneath, met for that purpose in a small back room in Glasgow on January 31, 1865. The object of the Society, whose membership was at first limited to ordained ministers of the Church of Scotland, was stated to be " the study of the liturgies, ancient and modern, of the Christian Church, with a view to the preparation and publication of forms of Prayer for Public Worship, and Services for the Administration of the Sacrament, the Celebration of Marriage, the Burial of the Dead," and so forth. Its scope was thus limited to literary effort for a devotional end, and from the first the design of introducing a compulsory liturgy into the Church of Scotland was repudiated. Nor was Lee prominent among its founders. He was only one of the four Vice-presidents—Principal Barclay of Glasgow was President—and Lee's prayer-book, of which an early edition appeared in 1865, was not accepted as a model. Yet the step of forming a society for liturgical study at that particular time was a very bold one and easily open to misapprehension and misrepresentation. The fact that well-known Churchmen of advanced views, such as Tulloch, Caird, and Macleod,

The Church Service Society.

appeared on the list of members tended to alarm the conservative element in the Kirk, though quite a number reputed "safe" also joined. Then on April 22, Lee himself struck another note of defiance by inaugurating a pipe organ in Old Greyfriars Church. A few months before an organ had been erected in Anderston Church, which was then without a congregation. So all was in train for a formal ecclesiastical fight, which duly came off when the Assembly met. Dr. Pirie, to quote Lee's biographer, passed from the Moderator's Chair "into the arena of conflict like a giant refreshed with wine and shouting for the battle." He described the services in Greyfriars as a masquerade of Popery, demanded a sterner and more definite line of action, proposed and carried by 171 to 140 a motion which led up to a new and final stage in this agitation. Intended as an absolute check to progress in worship reform, and for a year or two actually operating in that direction, it grew, with certain modifications made in 1866, into an awkwardly worded charter of liberty, beyond which the Church did not find it necessary to advance. Its phraseology is therefore worthy of exact quotation: "The General Assembly, while recommending the utmost tenderness to the feelings of unanimous congregations as to matters of form, do hereby declare and enact that arrangements with regard to public worship and all other religious services and ecclesiastical arrangements of every kind in parishes and congregations are to be regulated by the Presbytery of the bounds, always subject to the ordinary right of appeal, and that even though no express law should exist with reference to such particulars, the decisions of Presbyteries in each case shall be absolute and obligatory until they have been finally reversed by the competent courts of review; and the General Assembly strictly prohibits all ministers and office-bearers from assuming independent jurisdiction in such matters as are inconsistent with the vows of admission pledged by them at ordination to the inferior courts on pain of the highest censure. And in the event of disobedience, the General Assembly authorise and

The Conflict Renewed.

enjoin Presbyteries to proceed with and prosecute such censures to such conclusion as may seem essential to restoring the peace and asserting the constitution of the Church.[1]

Effect of the Pirie Act.

By transferring the power of regulating public worship from kirk-sessions to Presbyteries, which was in the eyes not only of Lee and his supporters but of other Church lawyers a most unconstitutional thing to do, Pirie and the anti-innovation party thought to arrest tendencies of congregations like Old Greyfriars to introduce changes under the influence of their ministers. They did not realise that the higher Church courts would soon get tired of interfering with the wishes of sessions and congregations, especially in disputed matters of worship. But for the time it appeared that the cause of reaction had triumphed. There were Presbyteries ready to interpose their veto to any radical changes, and Lee, by his contravention of the decision of the 1859 Assembly prohibiting the reading of prayers from a printed prayer-book, had laid himself open to discipline. He was regarded for various reasons as a victim to be made an example of. The majority in the Church at that time were worried by his restless energy, which was by no means confined to questions of worship. He wished to alter the subscription of elders to the Confession of Faith, and expressed heterodox views on the Sabbath. One venerable father did not hesitate to trace his activity to Satan himself. Still, with all the encouragement afforded by the Pirie Act, as it was called, the Act was open to ambiguous interpretation, and the Presbytery of Edinburgh showed reluctance to take proceedings against the Greyfriars offender. Lee even carried by 613 an overture to the Assembly calling for the repeal of the Act. On the other hand, the Synod of Edinburgh held the Presbytery bound to take action. So when the Assembly met in May 1866, the opposing forces again rallied for the fray, the issue now being whether its intentions of the previous year were to be fulfilled or nullified. It was evident from the first how things

Another Fight.

[1] For full text of the Pirie Act, 1866, see Story's *Lee*, pp. 267–8.

were to go. By 147 to 106 the Presbytery was instructed to confer with Lee as to his present and proposed mode of conducting public worship in his church, and "to take such steps as the result of the inquiry may show to be requisite for the regulation of the services of the said church on a matter consistent with the deliverance and with the law and usage of the Church." Then came the discussion on the Pirie Act. Lee's motion for its repeal was lost by 207 to 94, and by a small majority a new Explanatory Act was carried asserting with increased emphasis "the duty of Presbyteries, when by any legal or constitutional means the alleged existence or proposed introduction of any innovation or novel practice in the performance of worship or the administration of ordinances in any congregation come to their knowledge, to take cognizance of the same," and with or without further inquiry "either to enjoin their discontinuance or prohibit the introduction of such innovation as being in their view inconsistent with the laws and settled usages of the Church, or a cause of division in the particular congregations, or as being unfit for any cause to be used in the worship of God either in general or in the particular kirk." Yet with all this detail as to procedure, Dr. Pirie and his majority did not venture to specify what they regarded as illegal innovations; nor could they deny the right of appeal to the Assembly. Already a score or two of harmoniums and organs had been introduced—nearly all of them without any division in the congregations adopting them. The case of Lee was in a different category, as the adverse judgment of seven years before had never been reversed, and his Presbytery was now instructed to deal with him. His opponents gathered strength from the manifest desire of the Assembly to condemn the arch-innovator, and the protracted proceedings before the lower courts, beginning on June 27, 1865, and ending on May 7, 1866, resulted in an accumulation of decisions against Lee, culminating in one, confirmed by the Synod by 39 to 10, that he should "yield obedience to the injunction of the Assembly of 1859 and conduct the prayers

Defeat of Lee.

of the congregation in a manner consistent with the laws and usages of the Church."

Lee, all the while, had been employing the powers of his acute dialectic to defend his position in the Church courts, and he summed up the whole content of his case in a *Letter to the Members of the General Assembly*, published on May 18. This may be regarded as his final Apology. When it is remembered that he at sixty-three years of age was still carrying on his ministry in Greyfriars and discharging the duties of his professorial chair, as well as bearing the brunt of this prolonged and anxious controversy, that family sorrows, too, had crushed out much of his vitality, we cannot be surprised that he broke down under such a weight of toil and trouble. Riding home from Colinton the day before the meeting of the Assembly that was to decide his case, he was struck by paralysis, which caused him to fall from his horse. Though he recovered sufficiently to be removed to the country, and afterwards to the south of England, his health was shattered, his public career was ended, and he died at Torquay of another stroke on March 14 of the following year. The Assembly was not sorry to have a good excuse for postponing a matter which had degenerated very much into a legal wrangle with the personal element more prominent in it than the question of principle. Wearied of acrimonious debate, which it was hoped would be obviated in the future by the Acts of 1865 and 1866, the fathers and brethren did nothing to revive the conflict, though Wallace, called from Trinity College, Edinburgh, to succeed Lee in Old Greyfriars Church, continued to read prayers as before. In 1867 appeared the first edition of the *Euchologion* or *Book of Common Order*, issued by the newly constituted Church Service Society. It contained forms for Baptism, the Lord's Supper, Marriage and Burial, Tables of Psalms and Lessons, and a selection of prayers for public worship. The volume being favourably received, its editors were encouraged in the second edition (1869) to provide four complete services, with forms for ordination and the admission of catechumens. Ministers here and

His Final Apology and Death.

Result in Assembly.

there furtively or openly read these forms from the pulpit. No Presbytery objected. So far from arresting the use of liturgical forms, the Pirie legislation practically allowed it where no public protest was made. Those who did object were contented with a private grumble, and while the innovation did not spread to any great extent it very quickly came to be tolerated.

There was rather more opposition to the introduction of instrumental music, because congregational feeling had to be considered, and the sound of an organ in the Presbyterian Church was as yet unfamiliar and suspected. Hence the Assembly was troubled occasionally during the next few years with appeals from minorities. The chief of these was from Crieff, where, after temporary prohibition, permission was tacitly given. These cases were always decided in the interests of peace and unity. No organ was ever expressly sanctioned. Its use was forbidden only where it was a serious cause of division. Presbyteries very soon ceased to interfere with the evident will of congregations.

Triumph of Toleration.

Thus, though Lee passed away on what seemed to be the eve of defeat in his own particular contention, his perseverance and tenacity, and still more the growing trend of opinion in favour of a tolerant policy, led to the essential victory of his cause. Indeed, the removal from the scene of his aggressive and often irritating personality tended to hasten a peaceable solution. Yet he must be regarded as a martyr for the principles he held dear, and the Church of Scotland does well to remember him as a pioneer, though not always a wise one, of worship reform.

Hymnology.

The small selection of hymns sanctioned by the Established Church Assembly in 1861 was revised and added to in an edition of 1864, but it was a poor and unscholarly compilation. A. K. H. Boyd, who was translated from Edinburgh to St. Andrews in 1865, led successfully a movement in the 1866 Assembly for a better and more catholic book.[1] It appeared in 1870 as

[1] See his article in *Blackwood's Magazine*, May 1889, on "The New Hymnology of the Scottish Kirk."

The Scottish Hymnal, containing two hundred hymns, including for the first time the *Te Deum* and other ancient hymns disused in Scotland for centuries. A Psalm and Hymn Tunebook issued in 1868 was the first collection of tunes authorised by the Church since 1650. Paraphrases, then and for a good while after, had more vogue in the Church of Scotland than modern hymns. In the Free Church the desire for an addition to the materials of praise first took the form in 1865 of an effort to provide new psalm versions and revised paraphrases. But the leaders of the committee appointed for that purpose compelled the Assembly in 1869 to face the question of hymns, to which strong resistance was offered on the part of Dr. Begg and his followers. Begg regarded the hymn movement as "one of the most dangerous symptoms of the times," but he could not arrest it, and in 1872 the Supreme Court was asked to allow the public use of 21 new psalm versions and 123 paraphrases and hymns. The vote in favour was 213 to 61. The book thus approved was confessedly an experiment. It was too meagre to satisfy the hymn-lovers, and was almost contemptuously regarded by the adherents of the old ways. In five years steps had to be taken to prepare a more worthy collection. The United Presbyterians appointed a committee in 1870 to revise their book, but in 1874 it had not got beyond the draft stage. No one at this period seems to have dreamt of a common Presbyterian hymnal.

The battle over innovations in the Church of Scotland was not without its effect on the other Churches, but they generally considered the proceedings in the Lee case to be a warning against tampering with old traditions and another count in the indictment against the Establishment. Not a whisper was raised in the Free Church on behalf of liturgical prayer or the use of instrumental music. Nor is it likely that the organ question would have been revived so soon in the United Presbyterian Church after it had been decided in the negative in 1856 and again in 1867, if the negotiations for union had gone favourably. Pressure was, however, brought to bear on

Organ Question in U.P. Church.

the Synod by its congregations in England, where they were heavily handicapped by the veto on the organ, and in 1872 there were overtures from the Presbyteries of Carlisle, Lancashire, and London, asking for liberty of action by sessions. A memorable debate took place which revealed a striking advance of opinion. Professor Calderwood, who had previously been prominent in opposing change, now proposed and carried by a very large majority a motion for removing the prohibition. Its terms were: "That the Synod decline to pronounce judgment upon the use of instrumental music in public worship, yet do no longer make uniformity of practice in this matter a rule of the Church; but the Synod urge upon the courts of the Church the duty of guarding anxiously the simplicity of public worship; and press on the earnest attention of all the members of the Church watchfulness over the unity of congregations." There was no great haste, however, on the part of congregations to avail themselves of this permission. More influential for change than anything else was the appearance of Mr. Sankey's American organ in many a church during the 1874 revival.

Christian Fasts and Festivals.

The observance of the great Christian festivals had practically ceased in Presbyterian Scotland since the days of the Covenanters, and instead there had grown up the peculiar sacramental ritual satirised by Robert Burns, with the preliminary Fast Days and preaching services that were the nearest equivalent to a Lenten preparation.[1] By this time, however, the Thursday fast before Communion, while maintained in the country districts, was falling into neglect in the cities and becoming more and more of a popular holiday. The attention of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland was directed to the subject in 1867 by Story of Rosneath, but the only result was a recommendation to observe Friday or Saturday instead. A memorial signed by 140 merchants and others, presented to the

[1] In Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay*, one vol. edition, p. 578, there is an interesting note on Macaulay's impression of a Fast Day in the later 'forties.

Free Church Presbytery of Greenock in 1870, calling for the abolition of Fast Days, was decisively rejected on the ground that in general the days were well observed. In little more than another decade this Puritan relic was fast disappearing, retaining vitality only in the Highlands. Already the recognition of Christmas, if not as yet of Easter, was coming into vogue, though more as a social than a religious celebration. A Christmas service in church was still a thing suspect. So Robertson of Irvine experienced, when an account of the simple Christmas Eve worship he held in his church in 1868 found its way into the Press, and was made the object of attack in the columns of the *United Presbyterian Magazine*. Such a programme as the singing of the *Adeste Fideles*, the *Te Deum*, Christmas carols, and an anthem, the repetition of the Creed and the Lord's Prayer with responsive Amens by the choir, was alarming in the eyes of not a few. But Robertson's Presbytery stood by him, and went so far as to censure the editor of the *Magazine* for his criticisms. The day was past for making a heresy of such a reversion to catholic usage. John Macleod of Duns Parish Church was a bolder innovator. He advocated in 1871 weekly Communion and daily services, as well as special services for the commemoration of the Passion and other events in our Lord's life. But what had come to be the distinctive genius of Scottish Protestantism and its uniform practice for at least two hundred and fifty years was not to be easily counteracted, especially by suggestions of conformity to southern ways, though the struggle for liberty to develop along moderate and reasonable lines certainly made in these days a decided advance towards ultimate success.

Church Architecture.

The task of worthily restoring the defaced pre-Reformation churches of Scotland after long and grievous neglect only began to be seriously thought of during this period. Dr. William Chambers, Lord Provost of Edinburgh and head of the great publishing firm bearing his name, conceived the idea of removing the ugly partitions by which St. Giles' Cathedral was divided and restoring it at his own expense to something like its pristine beauty

and completeness. In 1870 a start was made with the work, which was to extend over many years. The opening of the renovated choir in March 1873 marked the completion of the first stage of the restoration.

The modern revival in Church architecture was, on the whole, most evident in Glasgow, where wealthy congregations were able to erect buildings that remain permanent ornaments of the city. Gothic models were generally followed, but in "Greek" Thomson the West of Scotland had a master of the classical style who achieved some remarkable results.

4. The Sabbath in Danger

One of the most prominent and significant features of this period in Scottish Church history was the acute controversy over Sabbath observance, raising the whole question of Old Testament Law in relation to New Testament practice. We have seen how this conspicuous element in the religious life of the nation, which had acquired almost a sacramental character, became subject to attack from the secular side shortly after the Disruption, and how the attack was vigorously and successfully repelled by the Church and the majority of the people. So long as Scotland could remain isolated from English and other external influences, and could base her habit of Sabbath-keeping on what was supposed to be infallible Biblical sanction, any change of opinion and action was very difficult to bring about. By 1865, however, such isolation had become impossible, and the first applications of the inductive and historical method were undermining certain dogmatic foundations that had been laid down with precision by the Westminster divines. Few theological books have had such an immediate influence as the Bampton Lectures of 1860 on *Sunday: Its Origin, History, and Present Obligations*, by the Rev. Dr. Hessey, headmaster of the Merchant Taylors' School and preacher at Gray's Inn. Though appearing before the days of the Higher Criticism and showing no trace of its free handling of

Influential Books.

Scriptural documents, these lectures by their broad and calm survey of facts and principles, backed by solid learning, did more than any previous publication in English to shake the Sabbatarian theory, while the moderation of the author and his earnest plea for the Christian Sunday as a divine institution made a real impression on the unbiased religious mind. It is interesting to contrast Dr. Hessey's work with another which appeared in Scotland about the same time—*The Sabbath*, by the Rev. James Gilfillan, United Presbyterian minister of Comrie, a laborious and scholarly, if badly arranged, book, the result, it is said, of fourteen years' preparation, but hopelessly vitiated by its *a priori* method and one-sided presentation of fact and theory. While Hessey and Gilfillan were being read in Scottish manses, the tidal wave of secular influence was breaking with fresh vehemence on the shore. The North British Railway Company, baffled in 1845, deemed the time opportune twenty years later to revive its programme of Sunday trains between Edinburgh and Glasgow. It was a challenge to the religious forces which had hitherto prevented the running, and the challenge was taken up with energy. Presbyteries all over the land sounded the tocsin against the railway directors, who were understood to be acting under pressure of their Southern shareholders, and it did seem at first as if the old war-cry was once more to rally an absolutely united ecclesiastical opposition to this visible sign of Sabbath desecration.

Revival of Sunday Trains.

The appearance of Dr. Norman Macleod as a protagonist on the other side was the great sensation of the time, and did more than anything else to disturb, if not as yet to alter, the prevailing opinion. Required by his Presbytery to read a Pastoral Letter on the subject which was contrary to his views, he not only expressed dissent from the pulpit, but went to a Presbytery meeting and made a three and a half hours' speech in defence of his position, which was reported in the Press and came to be more talked about in Scotland than any other utterance of that day. Naturally its destructive part received most attention, for Macleod, in the fervour of his Celtic

Norman Macleod as Protagonist.

temperament, did not mince his words, and indeed put his points in a way that was both liable to misunderstanding and open to just criticism. The balanced and moderate statements of Hessey became extreme and sweeping assertions when they passed through the fiery crucible of Macleod's mind. To tell Scotsmen that the Fourth Commandment was no longer obligatory on Christians, and that the Sabbath was buried in the grave with Jesus Christ when He rose from the dead, was certainly startling doctrine, and when he went further and denied the perpetual validity of the Decalogue as a whole, he seemed to many to tamper with the very foundations of morality. Even his friend, Frederick Denison Maurice, considered that he went too far. Dedicating to Macleod the volume on *The Ten Commandments*, which he published in 1866, he addressed to him some serious advice. "So far as your speech," he says, "was a protest against opinions and practices which religious teachers in your country and ours have grafted upon the Fourth Commandment, it seemed to me as useful as it was honest and courageous. But the more I have reflected on your argument, the less have I been able to accept your doctrine respecting that Commandment and the Commandments generally. . . . I believe that reverence for an unchanging Law and a Living Lawgiver has given to the Scottish character its strength and sobriety. Whatever any of us may discover in it of hardness and narrowness has proceeded not from the excess of that reverence but from the loss of it through the substitution of glosses and traditions for the Divine Commandment, through the attempt to fulfil them by arbitrary rules of man's devising. . . . To part with the Commandments is, it seems to me, to put yourself out of harmony with the best habits and deepest conviction of your people, and to lessen your power of reforming what is feeble and false in them." [1] When a

Views of F. D. Maurice.

[1] Another interesting opinion by a leading English Broad Churchman may be quoted. Professor Plumptre wrote at the time: "I am far from thinking that even the Jewish form which the observance of the Lord's Day assumed in Scotland has been without a great prepara-

man like Maurice felt obliged to write thus, it may be imagined what was the impression likely to be produced in orthodox Scotland by Macleod's bold declarations. As his biographer says, " the outburst of popular feeling was amazing. He became not only an object of suspicion and dislike to the unthinking and fanatical, but he was mourned over by many good men as one who had become an enemy to the truth. His table was loaded with letters remonstrating with him, abusing him, cursing him. Ministers of the Gospel passed him without recognition : one of these, more zealous than the rest, hissed him in the street." [1]

If Macleod had been an ordinary minister he would certainly have been made a victim by the ecclesiastical courts, for he had undoubtedly departed from the letter of the Westminster Confession of Faith in a manner and to an extent that was almost unprecedented in the Kirk, but his great personal reputation and high Christian character saved him and the cause of religious freedom at a perilous crisis. The Presbytery of Glasgow was satisfied with pronouncing and recording an admonition. Twenty years earlier, deposition would have been inevitable. Yet his escape from the extreme penalty was considered by not a few to be another damning evidence of the laxity and unsoundness of the Establishment. The odium was diverted from the railway directors to the offending divine, and the agitation against the Sunday trains—which had come to stay—was followed by a book and pamphlet war over the general question of the Sabbath and the Decalogue.

Within his own church, Macleod found support Sympathy and Opposition.

tion of good, and in spite of its theoretical defectiveness it was perhaps the position without which the good could not have been obtained. It has done in the education of Scotsmen what it did in the education of the Israelites. It has preserved their distinctness, their nationality, their sense of reverence for home life and home worship. Any attempt to revolutionise its observance in Scotland would be a fatal breach of the historical continuity of the national life and a wilful abandonment of what has proved itself a blessing" (Pamphlet on *Sunday*, p. 21).

[1] *Life of Norman Macleod*, vol. ii. p. 190.

and sympathy from Tulloch, Lee, and Burns of Glasgow Cathedral; also, to a considerable extent, from Milligan of Aberdeen, who, while agreeing that the Fourth Commandment as it stood was no rule for Christians, did not regard it as abrogated, but fulfilled by the coming of the new dispensation. The most vigorous piece of polemic on the opposite side was by James Macgregor of the Free High Church, Paisley (*The Sabbath Question: Historical, Scriptural, and Practical*, Edinburgh, 1866). Cairns delivered a powerful lecture in a rather alarmist vein. "We are met over the ruins of a prized and cherished Scottish institution, which exists for the time no more, and we are menaced on every hand with the fresh ravages of a spoiler which is coming upon all our pleasant places." Eadie, on the other hand, in addressing the Theological Society of the U.P. Hall, expressed opinions not unlike Macleod's. In a letter to Macleod he wrote: "I have always held and preached a similar doctrine as to the relation of the Fourth Commandment to the Lord's Day." [1] David Macrae drew humour from the situation in his lively brochure, *Trial of Dr. Norman Macleod for the Murder of Mr. Moses Law.* Resolutions were passed unanimously in Church courts, of which one may be quoted as a type: "The Presbytery, recognising the divine authority and perpetual obligation of the Sabbath, deem it to be their duty under present circumstances to call the attention of the several congregations under their charge to this important subject. In the opinion of the Presbytery the position assumed by certain public companies in reference to Sabbath traffic, and the statements expressed by certain men of the Gospel about the Sabbath, are calculated to injure religion, and should therefore be regarded with disapprobation and regret. The Presbytery request all members within their bounds to bring the subject of Sabbath law and Sabbath observance before their people as soon as convenient, and in such a way as may be most conducive to edification, and also to warn them against prevalent errors in opinion and practice regarding the

[1] *Life*, by James Brown, D.D., pp. 161–5.

day of rest." [1] But the Sabbath tradition was too strong in Scotland to be undermined by one assault, and its quality may be illustrated by an incident in the early life of Robertson Smith. When studying in Germany in 1867, he wrote to his father as follows, revealing a very tender conscience on this matter: "A German student called and asked me to walk with him. I walked over to the Scottish Church with him. I am not quite sure how I ought to do in such cases. In this instance my course was clear, as I had to go to church at any rate, but ought I in other cases to refuse to walk on Sabbath afternoon, or rather to walk and try to use such conversation as is suitable for Sabbath? I prefer that you should not send letters so as to reach me on Sabbath as the last did." [2] In these days Smith was anti-union and anti-organ as well as Sabbatarian.

Robertson Smith's Early Opinions.

The Free Church Assembly had a case before it in 1866 which illustrates the strict attitude of the time. James Robertson, a compositor employed on the *Glasgow Herald* newspaper and a member of Gorbals congregation, was excluded from Church privileges because he worked at his occupation on Sabbath afternoons. He did so on the plea of necessity, not because of any dis belief in the authority of the Fourth Commandment, and pleaded that there were several other members of Free Church congregations in the same position as himself, not one of whom was subjected to discipline. Yet the action of the kirk-session was endorsed by the Presbytery of Glasgow and the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, and an appeal against their decision was, on the motion of Dr. Candlish, dismissed by the Assembly. Professor Gibson quoted an Act of 1848 which declared the violation of the Fourth Commandment to be liable to the discipline of the Church in the same way as any other violation of the moral law. Candlish, however, was for dealing tenderly as well as faithfully with the culprit, and the session was instructed to report their procedure and its results to the Presbytery before the case was finally

Printer taken to Task.

[1] U.P. Presbytery of Kirkcaldy, March 1866.

[2] *Life of Robertson Smith*, by J. S. Black and C. Chrystal, p. 86.

disposed of. "I would leave much to the conscience on this subject," he said, "but I am not prepared to leave all." The outcome here was the failure of the kirk-session to alter Mr. Robertson's mind, so that the Presbytery of Glasgow in March 1867 instructed them "in the circumstances to remove his name from the Communion roll of the congregation."

Case of Walter C. Smith.

A clerical heretic was also forthcoming in the Free Church in the person of the Rev. Walter C. Smith of the Tron Church—already known as a poet of liberal sympathies. In his preaching he expressed views that were considered to be dangerously like those of Dr. Macleod, though more guarded, and he found it necessary to publish a volume of discourses on *The Sermon on the Mount*, in which he stated his position more fully. The Sabbath question in this case was overshadowed by the larger issue of the Decalogue and the Old Testament moral law in relation to the New, as in the sentence in one of the sermons which was much criticised: "The New Testament is the one supreme authoritative document for declaring God's purpose, and it holds the place of high and exclusive power just because it has fulfilled, and in fulfilling has abrogated, the whole Old Testament dispensation." Protracted proceedings took place in Presbytery and Synod, leading up to a great debate in the Assembly in 1867. Smith, in his final statement in answer to his examiners (Presbyteries in these days showed a wonderful ingenuity as inquisitors), said: "(1) I hold most firmly the immutability of all Divine Moral Law, and that the Decalogue contains a divinely authorised summary of that Law which is everlastingly binding: only that the New Testament contains a fuller and clearer statement of that Law. (2) That the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are the Word of God and the only rule of faith and manners; and, further, that their organic relation is of such a nature that the Old Testament does not derive its authority from the New, but both have the same kind of authority, and that both taken together are the complete revelation of the divine will. I therefore now as always un-

hesitatingly disclaim any opinion at variance with these truths which has been ascribed to me or supposed to be taught in my sermons." Yet the Presbytery was not satisfied, and censured the sermons as containing statements regarding the Moral Law of the Old Testament Scriptures at variance with the language of the Confession and the teaching of the Word of God. It must be confessed that the racking experience of nearly a year in the ecclesiastical torture chamber did not tend to produce clear and consistent thought on the part of the accused, and when the case came before the General Assembly the issues were by no means plain. It fell to Rainy to move the deliverance that reported the judgment of the Assembly leaders, and his speech was unusually sharp in its tone. The case was not, in his opinion, one of substantial heresy but of rashness, recklessness, and blundering. It was proposed to confirm the Presbytery's censure but to accept Smith's explanations. "The serious character of the errors" in the sermons was emphasised. Smith was enjoined to avoid for the future statements and expressions such as had given occasion to these proceedings, and was affectionately admonished to cherish a deeper sense of the humility and caution which it became the preacher of the Word of God to manifest in delivering instruction to the flock of Jesus Christ. Professor Macgregor, in seconding, was still more severe, but this was not enough for the ultra-conservatives. According to Begg, "in modern ecclesiastical history nothing more grave in the way of heresy had been put forth than the heresy contained in these sermons. It struck at the foundations of the authority of God's law and of His Word, and tended to the subversion of two-thirds of the whole revelation of God." He moved that "it be remitted to the Presbytery of Glasgow to proceed in the case according to the laws of the Church," which practically meant that Smith be libelled for heresy. In the division lobby nearly the same number voted for drastic measures against Smith as voted against Union with the United Presbyterian Church. The figures were 301 to 111;

their significance lies not so much in the censure passed on the offender as in the simple fact that he was allowed to escape without the institution of a legal process that might have ended his ministerial career. This was partly due to his "explanations," but also to the growth of a new spirit of toleration. The Free Church, while strenuously maintaining the Sabbath Law and the moral authority of the Old Testament, would not go so far as to exclude from its ministry men who dissented from the prevailing views, but it was not till the next generation that these views began to lose their hold on the habits of the people.

5. Doctrinal Transition

A. B. Davidson's View.

On June 5, 1865, Professor A. B. Davidson of New College, Edinburgh, wrote to a friend in South Africa: "The country is in what people who use large words call a transition state—as if the world or nature or man (or God ?) could be in any other. Either transition, or stagnation and corruption. . . . This breaking up of old forms of faith and the combination of the old material into new shapes go on quietly in secret unrecognised by the Churches. The great difficulty of thinking men is, as I take it, Is this spirit of the age really the tumultuous movement of God in history ? or is it the spirit of Antichrist, of whom we have heard that he should come ? The Churches here go in unanimously with the latter view; many thoughtful Christian men who venture to speak pronounce for the former. Happy seem to me those who take neither side, and only miserable and paralytic are those who halt between the two. I own to be one of the sick folk waiting at the pool in the vain hope that some angel will touch the water; I dislike the old, I distrust the new." [1]

No words could better express the feeling about theology that marked this period in Scotland in the minds of the younger men. Davidson himself was powerfully to mould the critical thought of the new

[1] *A. B. Davidson, Life,* by James Strahan, pp. 102–4.

time, but his work lay largely behind the scenes. "This," says the friend to whom he wrote, "was his period of acquisition when he was pondering the results of other minds and diligently searching all sources of knowledge to find firm ground for his faith." He was not alone in his painful search, and those who ventured to give voice to their opinions had to suffer the inevitable penalty of pioneer thinkers. They were either not listened to or denounced as disturbers of the peace, and it must be acknowledged that their utterances were often open to the reproach of immaturity and rashness. The issues were not yet plain, and they were complicated by cross currents unfavourable to real progress. Tulloch, speaking in America in 1874 on theological conditions in Scotland, referred to "the rise of a new spirit of thought unconnected with the old standards," and he described it as "a rapidly growing movement." It was said not untruly of him that he had done more to promote it than any other person, for he did not conceal his views and the prominence of a Broad Church party in the Establishment—small in numbers but consisting of bold and courageous men—gave perhaps a wrong impression of its influence. While it never commanded anything like a majority, the mere fact that it was tolerated gave ground for offence. In the Free Church the Confession of Faith was still regarded as sacrosanct, and the United Presbyterians claimed liberty only on certain points affecting the relation of Church and State. In the speech already quoted, Tulloch traced the causes of the movement to "wider historical and critical study of the New Testament and early Christian records, to literary, intellectual, and personal intercourse with England, and to increased acquaintance with German theology." He believed in letting the Confession of Faith alone, but in using more conscience towards it. The Westminster documents, however, were too comprehensive in their grip of both clergy and laity to be borne as an easy burden. The elders were the first to seek release from bondage to them. So early as 1865 some Paisley elders approached the Church of Scotland

Tulloch on Theological Conditions.

Overture by Elders.

Assembly on the question of relaxation of the subscription formula, and Cameron Lees, just translated to the charge of Paisley Abbey, appears first upon the scene as supporting their plea. But it met with little sympathy, and though a committee was appointed to look into the grievance, there was no real willingness as yet to consider it.

Relation to Westminster Confession.

The Sabbath controversy did more than anything else to compel attention to the Church's relation to the Westminster Confession. Departure from its teaching on any one point was felt to be serious in its consequences. Dr. William Wilson devoted his opening address as Moderator of the Free Church Assembly in 1866 to defining the proper attitude to the general subject, urging that the Confession was simply a declaration of what was to be found in the Word, though he admitted that no one human version of the creed could be regarded as final and permanent. Nixon of Montrose from the same Chair, two years later, put the matter more bluntly: "Our standards are but an echo in human language of the infallible Word." It was natural that revision of the English translation of the Bible should precede any attempt to revise a Creed so expressly founded upon its literal interpretation. In 1870 the Convocation of Canterbury nominated a body of its own members to undertake the work, "who shall be at liberty to invite the co-operation of any eminent for scholarship to whatever nation or religious body they belong." The Scottish scholars originally asked to take part were Dr. Lindsay Alexander (Independent), Professor Davidson and Principal Fairbairn (Free Church), Professor M'Gill (Church of Scotland) for the Old Testament; with Professor Eadie (United Presbyterian), Professor Milligan (Aberdeen University), and Professor Roberts (St. Andrews University) for the New Testament. To these were afterwards added Professors Birrell, Douglas, Robertson Smith, and Weir for the Old Testament, and Principal Brown and Bishop Charles Wordsworth for the New Testament.[1]

Revision of the English Bible.

[1] See Moulton's *History of the English Bible*

Perhaps the most prominent in the public eye of those who during this period championed doctrinal reform was Robert Wallace, who came to Edinburgh in the early 'sixties as minister of Trinity College Church, and who succeeded Lee in the charge of Old Greyfriars. Though he began his career as an extreme Calvinist,[1] his biographer describes him as "a born Rationalist." Certainly he soon shook himself free of Evangelical traditions and became known as a Broad Churchman of the most uncompromising type. A Liberal in politics after the manner of his friend Russel, of *The Scotsman*, to which paper he frequently wrote, he carried his democratic ideas into the General Assembly and greatly irritated his Conservative brethren by his bold application of them to ecclesiastical conditions. As a debater he greatly excelled, and his speeches had a raciness and piquancy rare in Church courts. To a volume entitled *Recess Studies*, which appeared in 1870 under the editorship of Principal Sir Alexander Grant, he contributed an article on "Church Tendencies" which excited much attention at the time, and gives a fair impression of his general attitude, one of caustic criticism of the current orthodoxy and advocacy of a transformed Establishment, Erastian in its basis and free with a freedom not easily reconciled with any form of Christian dogma. His ideal was a State-supported institution of free religious thinkers and teachers, with creed wide enough to embrace every heretic who believed in God. The Assembly looked upon Wallace as a kind of chartered libertine, and enjoyed his sallies while profoundly disagreeing with his views. It was a more serious matter, however, when he was appointed by the Crown in 1872 Professor of Church History in Edinburgh University. The nomination is believed to have been due to George Tait, the Lord Advocate in Mr. Gladstone's first Government, who thought doubtless to make a point for Liberalism by assigning the Chair to its most brilliant exponent in the Church of Scotland. On both political and religious grounds the appointment was

Robert Wallace.

[1] *Life of Charteris*, p. 42.

strongly resented. Proceedings were raised in the Edinburgh Presbytery, and the case went the length of the General Assembly, but Wallace had no difficulty in rebutting the attacks made on him. He had never committed himself to any particular heresy notwithstanding his general sympathy with Free Thought, and a libel was out of the question. All the same, the incident was unfortunate, and Wallace in a short time realised that his position was impossible. To anticipate a little, he was offered and accepted in 1876 the editorship of *The Scotsman*, and later he found his way into Parliament, making a new debating reputation in the House of Commons. A study of his biography [1] leads to the conviction that he was not in his proper place as a responsible teacher of the Christian faith. His intellectual gifts shed a kind of lustre for a while on the Church of his birth and upbringing, but he lacked the spirituality and depth of character that mark the true divine.

William Knight.

The Rev. William Knight of Dundee first came into notice as a Boswell to "Rabbi" Duncan, and he never did any better work than compiling *Colloquia Peripatetica* (1870), notes of illuminating conversations with that quaint and saintly scholar. But, greatly daring, he, a Free Church minister, caused a scandal by venturing in 1872 to preach in the Unitarian Chapel, Little Portland Street, London, of which Dr. James Martineau had the charge. For this he was censured by his Presbytery. While agreeing to accept censure he declined to be bound by the opinion that the Unitarian body formed no part of the Church of Christ. Two sermons which he published were subjected to examination by a committee, also articles on "The Ethics of Creed Subscription," and "Prayer" in *The Contemporary Review*. A libel was formulated, but after discussion and explanations the Presbytery, "while deploring the vagueness still characterising Mr. Knight's views on Prayer and Providence, yet felt warranted in departing from the libel." Knight, after his acquittal, resigned connection with the Free Church and applied in 1874

[1] *Life and Last Leaves*, by Campbell Smith and W. Wallace, 1903.

for admission to the ministry of the Church of Scotland. Though Principal Pirie would have nothing to do with one who, he declared, "had burned himself with metaphysics," and a minority desired reference of the case to the Dundee Presbytery, the Assembly by 152 to 53 admitted him at once. They could hardly do otherwise without questioning his sincerity, for he had run the gauntlet of a very strict inquisition and was ready anew to sign the Confession of Faith. But the latitudinarian reputation of the Auld Kirk at that time was increased by this willingness to receive a suspect from over the way. Knight was appointed afterwards Professor of Moral Philosophy in St. Andrews University, but his later work was more in the field of literature than of speculative thought.

Fergus Ferguson.

Of more real and ultimate consequence was Fergus Ferguson, who after a brilliant student career was ordained in 1864 to the United Presbyterian ministry in Dalkeith. His first defiance of convention was an attack on the Burns idolatry which is rampant in Scotland annually on January 25, when he revealed the moral courage and indifference to popular laudation which were always distinctive of him. This may rather have commended him to the old-fashioned orthodox, but the case was different when in a sermon on our Lord's descent into Hades, preached towards the end of 1870, he held out the hope that those of our race who had not in this world had a dispensation of the Gospel will have a presentation of the truth of Christ in the world to come. One of his elders brought him before the Edinburgh Presbytery, and Ferguson was subjected to the usual inquisition. The Presbytery, however, would not push matters to an extreme, and rejected the report of a committee which demanded his express disavowal of certain statements imputed to him. Appeal was taken to the Synod, which required Ferguson to sign four propositions that were regarded by many as directly contradicting his own teaching. These were (1) that all who shall ultimately be saved were chosen of God in Christ before the foundation of the world; (2) that all who are saved are accepted by God by His grace through the

Redeemer, that is, Jesus Christ, at or before the time of their death, and that none dying unsaved will after death have an opportunity of obtaining salvation; (3) that whatever new revelations of Christ or of the truth are made after death to the saved are made not to free them from sin but to increase their knowledge and blessedness; (4) that notwithstanding the inability of the will through sin, as taught in the Confession, believers are fully answerable for their rejection of the offer of salvation which the Gospel makes to them. While assenting to these propositions, Ferguson concluded with the emphatic declaration: "I still hold all the interpretations of Scripture given by me from the pulpit and understand that my liberty as a minister of the Gospel to speak according to my own light, conscience, and sense of responsibility remains unimpaired." It was evident that the Church courts had to deal with a bold and subtle thinker, who, however sound on the fundamentals of the faith, was not prepared to keep within the lines of confessional phraseology. Much more was to be heard of him in later years when the Westminster standards were subjected to a criticism long overdue.[1]

James Cranbrook.

The Scottish Congregationalists were agitated in 1866 over the views of the Rev. James Cranbrook, minister of Albany Street Chapel, Edinburgh. He denied the duty of prayer for temporal blessings, and in many respects went far beyond the limits of orthodoxy, approximating to the Unitarian position. Professor Huxley came to Edinburgh at his request and delivered for the first time his famous lecture on "The Physical Basis of Life." Lindsay Alexander and other leading ministers in the Congregational Union withdrew publicly from communion with Cranbrook "on the ground that his views were utterly at variance with the things most surely believed among them," and the result was his resignation.[2] He held services in a hall till his death

[1] See *Fergus Ferguson, his Theology and Heresy Trial*, by Joseph Leckie, D.D., 1923.

[2] For Cranbrook's views, see *Credibilia*, 1866; and *The Founders of Christianity*, 1868.

in 1869, and these were continued by a small group of followers for six years longer. Cranbrook's successor in Albany Street was John Pulsford, already known in England as an evangelical mystic, the author of *Quiet Hours*, a fragrant and original book of devotion. Its teaching had already brought on him the suspicion of heresy, for he cherished a high and hopeful view of humanity not easily reconciled with the stern Puritan creed of the period. He remained in Edinburgh for nineteen years, making a strong appeal to students and seekers after larger truth. His brother William ministered during the same time in Trinity Congregational Church, Glasgow. If less of a spiritual genius than John, he exerted a somewhat similar influence. In the small town of Bathgate, Andrew Fairbairn, in the pastorate of an Evangelical Union church, was fighting his doubts and gathering strength for work in larger spheres.

The Pulsfords.

More potent for change, however, than the influence of any individual preacher was the freer atmosphere of the centres of higher learning. The theological faculties were emerging from the air of arid obscurantism that had long tended to choke progress. John Caird in Glasgow, Thomas J. Crawford in Edinburgh, William Milligan in Aberdeen, as well as Tulloch in St. Andrews, all struck a new note. Caird, as a Professor of Theology (1862–73), departed largely from the old dogmatic method and appealed to reason as the final arbiter of truth. Even in the Free Church there was a feeling of expansion. While the older men still moved in fetters and sought to bind them on others, they could not prevent the recognition by the Church of younger scholars who were animated by another spirit. The lectures of A. B. Davidson were beginning to suggest new ideas of the Old Testament revelation. In 1872 Thomas M. Lindsay was elected to the Church History Chair in Glasgow in succession to James Gibson, and, more significant still for the future, William Robertson Smith was in 1870 chosen as Hebrew Professor in Aberdeen College Both went straight from a distinguished University career to be teachers of the rising ministry, with results not then

Theological Faculties.

foreseen. John Cairns entered on a professorial chair in the United Presbyterian Hall in 1867. Though his profound humility and intense respect for the traditions of his fathers prevented him from venturing far in the search for new light, he "lived with wider horizons than the typical theologian of that day, knowing and surveying with a large intelligence the actual currents of thought,"[1] and gave to the teaching of Apologetics more of an historical treatment than any of his predecessors.

University Influences.

The institution of the B.D. degree provided for the first time in Scotland an academic standard of theological scholarship. The Universities were becoming emancipated from the narrowness and provincialism of a purely Scottish philosophy that had been regarded as the necessary handmaid of the national theology. In those days all students for the ministry were obliged to take the classes of Logic and Moral Philosophy, and the mental awakening of many was due to the instruction received therein. Alexander Bain in Aberdeen taught a sensationalism that was not far removed from materialism, but only with the effect of making his pupils more liable to a healthy, idealistic reaction. Ferrier's work in St. Andrews was followed by the scientific thoroughness of Robert Flint. Campbell Fraser in Edinburgh was seeking by the revival of the study of Bishop Berkeley to lead thought into fresh channels. The contest for the vacant Edinburgh Chair of Moral Philosophy in 1868 revealed a keen rivalry in that field. Dr. Hutchison Stirling, the Hegelian expert, was powerfully backed in his candidature by Thomas Carlyle, then Lord Rector of the University. Flint was put forward as the rising hope of the Church of Scotland in that department. Calderwood, who was elected by a majority of one, owed his victory very much to his championship of a Christian intuitionalism. But it was in Glasgow that the teaching of philosophy had the strongest influence on religious ideas. While Veitch, the disciple and biographer of Hamilton, vigorously

[1] Dr. John Smith in MacEwen's *Life of Cairns*, p. 558.

expounded the views of the Scottish school, Edward Caird in the Moral Philosophy Chair, to which he was called in 1866, made Hegel for a while actually popular, and largely by the power of his personality impressed his students with a new outlook on life and destiny. In the words of Professor Watson, "he at once preserved the truth of the old and universalised it. Christianity was presented not as something exceptional in the history of man, but as the culmination of a long process of development, and as owing its form to the influence of Greek modes of thought." [1] We remember a characteristic address of his when he spoke of the Christian religion as containing within itself "the elements of a universal synthesis." It is not to be wondered at that this teaching was regarded by many at the time as highly dangerous and unsettling to the minds of youth in training for the Church. There was a negative element in it, more implied than asserted, which did for a while unsettle some. But the underlying philosophy did not long retain its vogue, and the permanent influence of Caird lay more in his positive setting forth of the abiding essence of religion than in the passing phase of speculation of which he was the eloquent exponent. Several of the most evangelical men in the Scottish Church of later days were first stirred in his classroom to earnest thinking on great theological problems. If the Hegelian dialectic proved ultimately to be an unsubstantial "pathway to reality," it served as a useful suspension bridge in an age of transition, to be superseded by a more solid structure of belief.

Edward Caird.

Not as yet did the implications of modern physical science have much influence on the trend of religious thought. Metaphysics still held the field. Psychology and Evolution were not yet words in the current vocabulary. Only after the address of Professor Tyndall before the British Association at Belfast in 1874 did the Church fully awaken to the issues raised by the champions of an aggressive materialism. But Rainy in his inaugural

Science and Religion.

[1] In *Life and Philosophy of E. Caird*, by Sir H. Jones and J. H. Muirhead, p. 192.

address [1] as Principal of New College a month or two later frankly accepted the possibility of man's animal constitution being developed from lower forms, refusing to regard the question as one of any great theological interest. This, so far as we know, was the first reassuring statement on the subject by any conspicuous Scottish theologian.

6. Spiritual Movements

There were few signs as yet that doctrinal unsettlement had any effect in weakening the power of the old truth or in restraining the forces that made for religious quickening along familiar lines. On the contrary, the rather devastating controversies of this decade tended to produce a healthy reaction in the sphere of what came to be known as *Christian Life and Work*. Tired of anti-union campaigns and of legal quarrels over non-essentials, men turned with longing to the things of the spirit. The hard crust of Scottish ecclesiasticism was being broken up, and movements that were to save the Church and the country from the peril of another period of Moderatism came not only to stir but to stay. The secret why Scotland retained its evangelical belief and practice notwithstanding the inevitable impact of modern theological ideas is to be found in the influences that culminated in the Moody and Sankey revival at home with its far-reaching consequences abroad.

Foreign Mission Revival in Church of Scotland.

In the Church of Scotland the shaking of the dry bones appeared first in a new enthusiasm for foreign missions and then in an effort to awaken and concentrate on special objects the dormant powers lying in her parochial organisations. It is worthy of note that at the very time Norman Macleod was involved in the Sabbatarian debate already referred to, he was engaged in stirring up his Church to take a deeper and wider interest in the progress of the Kingdom of God in other lands. From 1864 to 1872 he was convener of the Foreign Missions Committee. " Thank God," he wrote,

[1] *Evolution and Theology*, Edinburgh, 1874.

on his appointment, "for calling me in my advancing years to so great and blessed a work." He did not spare himself in activity, and in 1866 an increase of £1500 in annual contributions was reported to the Assembly. A year later he went on a mission to India with Dr. Watson of Dundee. Its results were memorable in the strengthening of the staff in the educational institutions of the Church, in the organisation of a mission to the aboriginal tribes of Northern India, in an enlarged vision of the needs of the foreign field, and most of all in the passion for a forward policy that Macleod aroused by his speeches after his return. Indeed, he wore himself out in this good cause, and died in 1872 at the early age of sixty. But the sacrifice was not in vain. While the original mission of the Church to India made a stronger claim on her than ever, she heard almost for the first time since the Disruption the call to a world-wide enterprise. The other movement in the Church will always be associated with the name of Dr. Archibald Hamilton Charteris. Called to Edinburgh in 1868 after a fruitful experience in three parochial charges to be Professor of Biblical Criticism in the University, he found his true sphere in inspiring the rising ministry to high ideals of service and in committing the Assembly to a wise evangelical policy that was destined to have many developments. In May 1869 he gained the unanimous assent of the supreme court for the following motion: "That a Committee be appointed to inquire as to the progress of Christian work in the country; and further to consider and report as to the best means of promoting evangelistic efforts, and of so guiding those engaged in them as to secure their co-operation with the office-bearers in this Church in order that the ministry of the Church may be aided by voluntary Christian efforts, and that the pastoral superintendence of her ministers may be enjoyed by those whom such efforts have gathered in." The full meaning of these proposals was not realised at the time. It really pointed to a reorganisation of the Church on its aggressive and practical side. During its first years the Committee contented itself with gathering information, and its numerous

A. H. Charteris and his Work.

queries were not always welcomed by old-fashioned men among the clergy. But the earnest yet diplomatic leadership of Charteris surmounted all obstacles. He and his associates became ever bolder in making positive suggestions of reform. What the older Endowment Scheme sought to achieve in the region of finance the "Christian Life and Work Committee" aimed at completing and spiritualising by its more intensive propaganda. So when in 1874 the munificent gift to the Church by James Baird of Cambusdoon of half a million was announced, the machinery for utilising it to good purpose was not far to seek. This was indeed a windfall that coincided with the abolition of the Law of Patronage, and helped materially to equip the Kirk for her more popular appeal. It was hailed with extravagant rapture by Dr. Cook, the Moderate leader: "Not since the Christian religion was introduced into the world had so noble a benefaction for carrying out the objects of that religion been made by an individual man as had been made by Mr. Baird." Certainly it marked a new development in personal giving, but the shrewd iron-master who devoted so much of his surplus wealth to the cause of established religion in Scotland did not allow a free hand to the Assembly in its distribution. He constituted a Trust with clearly defined aims, and made it clear that the maintenance of an active and orthodox evangelical ministry was the chief interest he had at heart. While a strong Conservative in politics and religion, he was somewhat radical in his views of Church management, and believed in the local right of congregations to elect men for that purpose. So while his Trust had an autocratic element in it, the tendency of its work was to bring into existence a new type of congregation more democratic than the old parochial model. Certainly the work of Church extension received an impulse of an extraordinary kind, and the ecclesiastical rivalry of the period was so keen as to ignore the danger of overlapping.

James Baird's Donation.

The Free Church continued with vigour her Home Mission enterprises, the most notable of these during

Movements in Free Church.

this period being the work of William Ross in Cowcaddens, Glasgow,[1] and the institution in 1873 of a Miners' Mission. In 1872 the first step was taken towards creating a special department of effort for young people beyond the usual Sabbath-school age, and the report a year later of the Committee appointed to consider that subject indicated some of the lines on which advance was ultimately made. In the field of Foreign Missions there were marked features of progress. William Miller had gone out to Madras in 1862 to superintend the higher school there, then at the very lowest point in its history. Within ten years it had become the premier college in Madras, the prospective centre of a great system of Christian education. James Stewart, going out to Lovedale, South Africa, in 1867, and entering on the charge of the training institution there in 1870, carried out a revolution by realising his dominant ideal " to uplift the native by touching him at every point, instructing him in all the arts of civilised life, and fitting him for all Christian duties." [2] New missions were undertaken to the Santals in India and to the coloured tribes of the Transkei and Natal. Mention should also be made of the apostolic labours of Alexander N. Somerville, which during this period embraces strenuous evangelistic effort in Glasgow, the founding of a Reformed Church in Spain, with a world-wide interest that led to a call to India in 1874.[3]

United Presbyterian Church.

In the United Presbyterian Church enthusiasm for Foreign Missions reached a still higher point and found an outlet in many fields. The occurrence of the terrible Indian famine in 1870 gave an opportunity to the Rajputana missionaries. They were the only Europeans there besides the Government officials, and they took a bold philanthropic lead. Indeed, the one section of the British public that did anything substantial for the relief of the hunger-stricken in that region was the membership of this comparatively small Scottish Church. A scheme

[1] See *Life*, by his son, J. M. E. Ross.
[2] *Life*, by Dr. Wells, 1909, p. 605.
[3] *Life*, by Dr. George Smith, 1890.

for the maintenance of the orphans left destitute by the famine was carried through successfully, the self-sacrificing labours of the brothers Martin being specially worthy of remembrance. The chief new development of the work was in Manchuria. Southern China had been occupied by the English Presbyterian Church in 1847, and its heroic pioneer missionary, William C. Burns, only lived to set foot on Manchurian soil, where he died in 1867. Before that time the United Presbyterian Church had begun work on a modest scale in Ningpo, which was extended later to Chefoo, but the real forward movement took place in 1872, when John Ross crossed the gulf separating the mainland of China from Manchuria and began work at Newchwang. Already the Irish Presbyterians had followed in the footsteps of Burns, and in 1874 the Manchurian Church was founded in co-operation with them. That year was also memorable for the journey of Ross to the Korean Gate, where he was the harbinger of the wonderful entrance of Christianity into "the hermit land" eight years after. The Kaffraria Mission suffered a great loss through the death in 1871 of Tiyo Soga in his forty-second year, a few months after his transference to a promising field of labour among the Galekas. But perhaps the most influential date in the missionary progress of the early 'seventies was the passing of David Livingstone on May 1, 1873. On African soil he gave his life for the African people, and his heart remains there as a legacy. The impulse his martyr death gave to the evangelisation not only of the dark Continent but of the world was incalculable. A tomb in Westminster Abbey, Blantyre, Livingstonia, and many other fruits of his labours were to perpetuate the memory of this great Scotsman and heroic Christian.

Death of David Livingstone.

Evangelistic movements during this period were more or less sporadic, and not manifest to the public till towards the end of 1873 it became evident that a great spiritual awakening had begun. For the first time in the history of Scotland, American revivalism became a potent factor in its religious development, and it was

fortunate that this appeared at its sanest and best in the persons of Dwight L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey. Already other influences from across the Atlantic had made themselves felt. Not only the poetry and fiction but much of the current religious literature of America had made a deep impression, while the temperance oratory of J. B. Gough and the anti-slavery propaganda of Henry Ward Beecher had done much to rouse the social conscience. Welcome was now given, much more directly than in 1859, to a special growth of American Christianity, which, like all such products, was freshest and most genuine in its earliest manifestations. Then, too, the accepted postulates of popular theology were practically the same on both sides of the Atlantic, and the occasion was ripe for a warm and vivid representation of the essential Gospel of Christ apart from denominational shibboleths. Moody and Sankey landed at Liverpool in 1873. During the summer and autumn they held meetings with wonderful success at York and Newcastle, and the tidings of their work in these cities led to an invitation from Edinburgh. On Sunday, November 23, the first gathering took place in the Free Assembly Hall, and during all that winter the metropolis was spiritually moved as it had not been in the memory of man, and after a fashion new and strange in a community not easily swept by waves of emotion. The schools, university, and chiefly the congregations, caught the contagion. The ministers with a singular unanimity lent their support to the evangelists. Only high-and-dry churchmen held aloof. The names of Charteris, Marshall Lang, M'Murtrie, George Wilson, Lord Polwarth (Church of Scotland), Rainy, James Hood Wilson, John Kelman, Horatius Bonar, William Arnot, Alexander Whyte, James Balfour (Free Church), Cairns, Calderwood, Andrew Thomson, James Robertson (United Presbyterian), David M'Laren (Congregational), T. Knox Talon (Episcopalian), represented the outstanding evangelical personalities of the time in the metropolis, and they were all to be found on the platform or in the inquiry room. This definitely linked the movement with the organised

The Moody and Sankey Revival.

Church. Moody from the first gripped his audiences by his pithy, pointed, and direct utterances, laying supreme emphasis on the message of God's love to mankind, while Sankey's singing to the novel accompaniment of the American organ not only broke down the then stiff routine of the Presbyterian service, but opened up a new avenue of spiritual influence. Neither the preaching nor the music made much appeal to the intellect or the artistic sense, but they moved the heart. There was a humanity, a directness, an unconventionality as well as an intense earnestness in the men and their methods that went home to Scotland at that time. They also struck an ethical and social note that tended to modify the extreme individualism of the old theology, and the response on the part of the young was very striking. Perhaps the most momentous event of the Edinburgh campaign was the capture of Henry Drummond and the discovery and use of him by Moody as the prophet of a new evangelism destined especially to move the coming generation of students. From Edinburgh the flame spread to Dundee, Glasgow and the West, Aberdeen, etc., and it may be said that by the end of the summer of 1874 the whole country had been set on fire. James Stalker (ordained at Kirkcaldy in 1874) and other men of promise fresh from College entered with enthusiasm into the work of evangelism. In Glasgow in particular the movement blossomed out into philanthropic activities such as free breakfasts for the poor, Y.M.C.A. work, and missions to the outcast and fallen. The central motive behind everything was the winning of human lives for the service of Christ. There never had been a revival more insistent on the connection between saving faith and redemptive effort for the world's good, and the fruits were manifest in the dedication of all that was best in young Scotland to this end. The schools and universities were powerfully influenced. When the General Assemblies met in May their members found themselves face to face with something almost unique in the religious experience of the land. One Free Church minister, Dr. Julius Wood, went so far as to describe it as " an out-

pouring of the Holy Spirit more extensive and remarkable than has taken place since Apostolic times." In more sober language Professor Charteris, in the Church of Scotland *Record*, April 1874, bore testimony to the depth and reality of the movement. One cannot fail to see a Providence in the fact that it came to strengthen the evangelical foundations just before they had to stand the shock of the critical attacks on what seemed to many the necessary outworks. Ten years later the result might have been different. As it was, the Revival of 1874 made such a mark on Scottish life that its traces were manifest for, at least, half a century after.

7. Political and Social

Extension of the Franchise.

The passing of the Second Reform Act of 1867, with its great widening of the franchise, made Scotland more democratic than ever, and gave new force to public opinion on the pressing political issues of the time. These as yet were more associated with middle-class conviction and feeling than with the problems of labour, and the Disestablishment of the Irish Church was the test question of the Election of 1868 which carried Gladstone into power with an overwhelming majority. This measure was recognised by the ministers and members of the Scottish Church as having a bearing far beyond the particular grievance it sought to remedy. The United Presbyterian Voluntaries hoped it would be the first step towards a dissolution of the bonds between Church and State throughout the United Kingdom. Free Churchmen, while still averse to Disestablishment as a general theory, were on the whole agreed that Irish Episcopacy could no longer claim special privilege. The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland viewed with alarm this attack on the principle of State support of Protestantism and voted by very large majorities against Gladstone's Bill. A good idea of the clerical attitude may be derived from the published record of voting for the Scottish Universities, first entitled to return members in 1868, from which it appears that

Disestablishment of Irish Church.

Clerical Politics.

Established Church ministers voted Tory by 1221 to 67, Free Church ministers Liberal by 637 to 33, United Presbyterian ministers by 470 to 1, while the Episcopalian vote was against Gladstone by 78 to 4. Those of the other Protestant Nonconformist bodies voted in his favour by 360 to 35.[1] These figures must not be taken as representing the laity, for in the Church of Scotland especially the clergy have always been more Conservative than their people. But the election by the constituencies of 46 Liberals to 7 Conservatives was clear proof of the trend of opinion, and it could not fail to react on the national religious situation. Even in 1874, when Disraeli came back into power, the proportion of political parties in Scotland was 2 to 1 in favour of Liberalism. We have seen how the passing of the Patronage Act in that year did nothing to check the growing agitation against State Churchism. In 1873 the United Presbyterian Synod appointed a Standing Committee on Disestablishment with G. C. Hutton as convener, and at a *pro re nata* meeting towards the end of 1874 an emphatic declaration was made that the Church "must continue to testify and labour in all suitable ways for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Established Churches of the land, and to look and pray for reunion only in connection with this issue." The Free Church Assembly in May 1874 passed for the first time by 295 to 98 a distinct Disestablishment resolution, and on December 8, Dr. Rainy made his first speech from a public platform in support of that policy, maintaining that to any "Christian evangelical and edifying union in Scotland, Disestablishment is the preliminary." The lists were thus set for a warfare that was to be waged with considerable violence for twenty years or so.

Disestablishment Resolutions.

Social reform made little progress during this decade and bulked but slightly in the proceedings of the Church courts. Professor Blaikie carried an overture in the Free Church Assembly in 1864 directing special attention to the relation of Christianity and the Christian Church to social conditions with the view of determining the

Social Conditions.

[1] Omond's *Lord Advocates of Scotland*, Second Series, p. 245.

most efficient and expedient mode of bringing Christian influence to bear on questions of social importance. He was supported by Begg, but the vague wording of the proposal pointed to its futility, and nothing was done. Begg, indeed, a year after sought to arouse the Assembly to the appalling fact that one-third of the people of Scotland were living in hovels of one apartment, and a Committee on the Housing of the Working Classes was appointed. In 1867, however, it was discharged on the ground that "public attention was thoroughly alive on the subject." Certainly the State got little encouragement from the Church to deal with this national scandal, and as yet there was no keen social conscience to compel legislation. Temperance reformers lost a great opportunity in 1870 when they opposed the Bill of Mr. Bruce, the Home Secretary, which would have brought about a very large reduction of licences in ten years, and in many ways would have controlled and restrained the liquor traffic. But it had to be dropped because of the strong resistance to the scheme by both the trade and the anti-drink organisations. The first Lodge of Good Templars in Scotland was founded in 1869. In the course of three years there were over 650 lodges with 40,000 members. The most eloquent champion of this movement was the Rev. George Gladstone of the Evangelical Union Church. A new phase of Temperance propaganda within the Church was the effort to introduce non-alcoholic wine at Holy Communion, and this led to considerable agitation. Mr. John Hope, whose zeal as a total abstainer has already been referred to, took a very active part in promoting the change, but the proposal was greatly prejudiced at first by its advocacy on the ground that Bible wines were generally unfermented, and that our Lord could not have used any intoxicating element in founding the Sacrament. In two Presbyteries of the United Presbyterian Church elders refusing to pass round the cup were dealt with for the offence and deposed from office, and the Synod in 1873 took a firm stand against the extremists. Only when the argument for innovation was shifted to the

Temperance.

Communion Wine Agitation.

ground of human expediency did it obtain due weight. The first consequences were disruptive, the introduction of two cups at the Communion Table, and not a little uncharitable judgment. Only the growth of a spirit of consideration for tender consciences and the increasing conviction that the Church must avoid every appearance of sanctioning the trade in strong drink led to a gradual change in the common practice. Another sign of progress was the protest that began to be uttered against drinking customs at funerals and hilarious toast-drinking at ordination and induction dinners.

William Quarrier's Efforts.

A very fine piece of social work had its humble beginning in 1864, when William Quarrier, a Glasgow boot and shoe maker, moved by the tearful story of a ragged boy, robbed of his stock-in-trade of matches, instituted a shoeblack brigade, and later others for newspaper and errand lads. In 1871 he started a home for destitute children, and his schemes rapidly grew till they included cottage homes in the country and a well-devised plan of emigration to Canada. The characteristic feature of Quarrier's work was his dependence on prayer and on appeals to the public through the Press without any organisation for collecting money.[1]

8. Education

Report of Royal Commission.

A Royal Commission was appointed in 1864, presided over by the Duke of Argyll, to consider the long vexed question of a complete scheme of National Education. It reported in 1867 that the parochial system, even with the help of denominational and private schools, entirely failed to meet the educational needs of the people, more especially in the large towns and in the Highlands and Islands. Yet the Church, though unable to bear any longer the chief responsibility for public education, had no reason to be ashamed of her record of three centuries since John Knox. The total school rolls in 1867 numbered 431,000, 1 to 6·5 of the population as against 1 to 6·2 in Germany, where education was compulsory.

[1] See *The Life Story of William Quarrier*, by John Urquhart.

Nor was the quality to be despised. Even at that time Scotland was at least a generation ahead of England in its educational ideals and practice, though of course the wealthier country had far ampler resources in her higher seats of learning. Yet every one was agreed that the State must devise and carry out a plan of reform, and its lines were clearly enough laid down in the Royal Commission Report. Ecclesiastical control had to give way to management by popularly elected Boards, and there must be a uniform standard of knowledge. The crux lay in answering the question: What is to be the State requirement as to religious instruction especially as relating to the Bible and the Shorter Catechism so long regarded as the most sacred textbooks of Scottish youth? Here difference of opinion among the Churches made the work of Parliament difficult. The Church of Scotland stood unbendingly for the legislative enactment of what was known as "use and wont." The Free Church, which was willing to give up its denominational system (it had in 1865–66 nearly half the number of the children in school attendance), wished at least some security that religious teaching would have a place in the new scheme. The United Presbyterians had committed themselves by resolution so far back as 1847 that it was not within the province of civil government to provide for religious instruction, and that the duty of religious education of the young belongs exclusively to the parents and to the Church, and Voluntaries, like Hutton, followed out this resolution to its logical consequences, going so far as to advocate an entirely secular system of public education. In 1869, however, the Synod adopted the position that if the people of any parish acting under the authority of the State agreed in applying State funds to religious education they would offer no objection. Therefore it was prepared to accept a Parliamentary enactment on these lines without much demur.

Views of the Churches.

When Gladstone's Government came into power in 1868, the obstruction that long barred the way to educational legislation gave way before the tide of reform zeal, Lord Advocate Moncreiff lost no time in introducing

Scottish Education Bill.

his sixth Scottish Elementary Education Bill (his first was in 1854) embodying the principles of universal School Boards, a compulsory school attendance between the ages of five and thirteen, a General Board of Education, elimination as far as possible of denominational schools and settlement of the religious difficulty by the people, with a conscience clause. It would have passed before the English Bill of 1870 but for the pressure of business, and Moncreiff's elevation to the bench deprived him of the well-deserved honour of bringing this matter to a triumphant issue. Young, his successor, introduced a similar measure in 1871, but it did not pass into law till 1872. Almost to the last the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland opposed the Bill on the ground that it did not guarantee definite religious education in all parishes. But thanks to the earnest efforts of Mr. E. S. Gordon, the devoted Tory Churchman and skilled lawyer who had been elected to succeed Moncreiff in the representation of Edinburgh and Aberdeen Universities, a resolution was carried in Committee of the House of Lords by 216 to 209 to the following effect :

Use and Wont.

" That having regard to the principles and history of the past educational legislation and practice of Scotland which provides for instruction in the Holy Scriptures as an essential part of education this House, while desirous of passing a measure during the present session for the improvement of education in Scotland, is of opinion that the law and practice of Scotland in this respect should be continued by provisions in the Bill now before the House." [1] A preamble was devised accordingly that gave a prescriptive right to " use and wont." [2] The Church of Scotland reconciled itself to the inevitable. The Free Church, too, surrendered its schools to the new public bodies. When the first School Board Elections took place under the new Act a few candidates appeared in advocacy of the secularist and ultra-voluntary platforms, but they were generally defeated. Popular

School Board Elections.

[1] Hansard's *Parliamentary Debates*, ccxi, 288, May 2, 1872.

[2] For wording of preamble prepared in the House of Commons and amended in the Commons see *Life of Charteris*, p. 146.

opinion undoubtedly endorsed the teaching of Bible and Catechism as part of the day's time-table, subject to withdrawal of pupils whose parents had conscientious scruples. The time was not ripe for a scheme of religious education in the schools on a broad and scientific basis, and probably the coming of that time was hindered for generations by too slavish adherence to the ancient standards. Most School Boards were content to jog along on the old footing, and the instruction in the Shorter Catechism especially was apt to degenerate into little more than a memory exercise. The introduction of the cumulative vote secured representation for Roman Catholics and Episcopalians as minority members of the Boards in a good many communities, while they continued to receive grants for the maintenance of their own schools, not as yet very numerous. It was not then foreseen that the question of endowing denominational religious teaching would recur at a later date in an acute and aggravated form, and that the insistence on Bible and Catechism for all State schools would ultimately weaken the plea against the State subsidising of anti-Protestant and anti-Presbyterian education. The Churches, however, deprived of the control of the day school, began to realise more fully their direct responsibility for the religious education of the young. Sabbath schools, which had grown up outside the ordinary Church organisation, could no longer be left without fostering care and guidance. In 1873 the Free Church recognised them as an integral part of her ecclesiastical system, and coincident with the passing of the day school under the old conditions one notes a new emphasis on systematic Christian teaching. Bible classes were to be found in most congregations, and they formed the nucleus of a forward movement for higher religious instruction.

Influence on the Future.

9. Scottish Episcopacy and its Relations

These years were of considerable importance in the development of the Scottish Episcopal Communion.

Lay Influence in the Church.

The claims of the lay members for a share in the government of the Church could no longer be ignored, and in 1863 legislation by the General Synod brought about certain changes. Lay representatives from each congregation were enabled at last to take part in the choice of Bishops, Diocesan Synods were thrown open to the laity who could speak but could not vote, and the offices of lay reader and catechist were formally sanctioned. These reforms led to a desire for more, especially for a Council of Clergy and Laity to take the place of the exclusively clerical ruling body. A majority of the Bishops resisted for a while the proposal to call a General Synod on the lay question, and they were supported by a memorial against organic change signed by several leading noblemen and gentry. Among the factors that moved the opposition were distrust of anything approximating to the lay elders of the Kirk and the fear of popular opinion unduly swaying episcopal judgment in doctrinal and spiritual matters. Dr. Ewing, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, the only broad Churchman on the bench, was a strong advocate of concession, but the stiff High Churchism of Bishop Forbes of Brechin was more potent on the other side. After the death of Ewing in 1874 moderate counsels tended to prevail. Eventually, a General Synod of the whole Church met in May 1874, when Bishops, clergy, and laity decided on setting up a Representative Church Council. So the same year which saw the establishment of congregational popular election in the Established Church of Scotland saw the extremely conservative Scottish Episcopal Church committed also to a mildly democratic form of government. Almost contemporaneously with this came the setting apart of three missionary Bishops to sees in South Africa and Madagascar. The Duke of Buccleuch in 1864 carried through Parliament a Bill which removed the last of the civil disabilities affecting the Episcopal clergy in Scotland. A legal action brought by the Rev. George Forbes of Burntisland [1] in 1865 against Bishop Eden and the General Synod raised an interesting

Removal of Civil Disabilities.

The Forbes Case.

[1] See also p. 255.

question with much wider bearings than the circumstances appeared to indicate. He sought the reduction of certain canons enacted by the Synod in relation to the Communion office on the ground that it had no right in its constitution to change them. Lord Justice-Clerk Inglis sustained the relevancy of the case while he passed judgment against the pursuer on the facts. The House of Lords on appeal seemed to take the view that whatever a non-statutory Church deliberately held itself to have power to alter in doctrine or practice (and it had claimed power to ordain, arrange, or abolish ceremonies or rites of the Church ordained only by man's authority) the law will permit it to change. This decision of Lord Chancellor Chelmsford and his colleagues (April 11, 1867) had a clear bearing on the pleadings of the famous Free Church litigation of 1904.

Bishop Charles Wordsworth.

Bishop Charles Wordsworth persevered in his advocacy of reunion with the Church of Scotland, recurring to the subject in his charges year after year with no encouragement either from his brethren or from his ecclesiastical opponents. He went so far as to suggest a scheme for concomitant ordination by the Presbyterate of both Churches, together with the Bishops.

Preaching of Anglican Bishops in Scottish Presbyterian Churches.

In the autumn of 1871 the Archbishop of York (Dr. William Thomson) and the Bishop of Winchester (Dr. Samuel Wilberforce) preached on two successive Sundays in the Parish Church of Glengarry. In answer to criticism by Scottish Episcopalians both prelates pleaded apologetically that they had simply been discharging the duties of a "mission" in temporarily occupying Presbyterian pulpits. Bishop Wilson of Glasgow, however, retaliated by inhibiting his brother Bishop of Argyll from officiating in the temporary Chapel of Glasgow University, though it had only the status of a hall. In his last letter to his friend, Dr. M'Leod Campbell, written just a few days before Campbell's death, Ewing, referring to Wilson's action, said: "I cannot say how much it has impressed me with the feeling that those apparently innocent things, apostolic succession and high views (as they are called)

of the Christian Sacraments, are really *anti-Christian* in their operation. When they take shape in actual life, they reveal their meaning to be a doctrine of election, which is just so much worse than the common one that it is *external* and official, and which, moreover, renders the sacraments themselves uncertain in their efficacy, by demanding the co-operation of the will of the minister, if the reception of them is to be savingly beneficial. How destructive this doctrine must be of all simple and immediate fellowship between man and man, and between man and God, I need not say." [1] Sixty clergy of the Scottish Episcopal Church sent a manifesto approving of the inhibition, but the venerable Dean Ramsay wrote to *The Scotsman* strongly protesting against it.

Dean Stanley's Visit.

That same winter (January 1872) Dr. A. P. Stanley, the genial Dean of Westminster, who since his marriage to Lady Augusta Bruce had shown a keen interest in Scottish religion and life, paid a memorable visit to Edinburgh. Besides preaching in Old Greyfriars' Parish Church he delivered before the Philosophical Institution a course of lectures on "The History of the Church of Scotland," which were rightly regarded as a distinct challenge to the current evangelical conception of that history. His frank Erastianism, his ingenious apology for the eighteenth-century Moderates, and his curious misunderstanding of the special testimony of Presbyterianism, gave offence to many who could not fail to be interested in his vivid and picturesque treatment of the whole theme. In response to a generally expressed public desire, Dr. Rainy stepped into the arena to reply to the Dean's attack, and the short course in which he presented the other side has been truly described as a triumphant vindication of the really deeper and nobler elements in the religion of Scotland against a travesty of it.[2] And earnest Episcopalians no less resented the rôle assigned to them by the Dean as a

[1] *Life of Bishop Ewing*, by A. J. Ross, D.D., p. 567.

[2] Carnegie Simpson's *Life of Rainy*, chap. ix., "The Tourney with Dean Stanley."

mere English "supplement" to the national Establishment, "to keep alive English art, English toleration, and English literature."

Cathedral Building.

St. Ninian's, Perth, begun so early as 1850, was a precursor of cathedral revival in the Church and was the scene for a while of a controversy on ritual. Next came Inverness, consecrated in 1869, and a generous bequest by two sisters led in 1874 to the laying of the foundation stone of a cathedral in Edinburgh. Ornate services became increasingly common with a tendency towards advanced ceremonial. The Scottish Episcopal membership in 1870 was estimated at about 62,000, with 169 churches, 102 schools, 8 bishops, and 183 officiating clergy. The Clergy Sustentation Fund had an income of £12,000, but the average stipend did not exceed £145.

Queen Victoria's Outburst.

In the Second Series of Queen Victoria's letters one is rather surprised to find some words of Her Majesty to Dean Wellesley of Windsor, written in 1866, immediately after an interview with Dr. Norman Macleod, referring to the Episcopalian movement in Scotland as "most *serious* and indeed *alarming* to the safety of the Church of Scotland." This is a proof that the leaders of the Kirk were somewhat nervous in those days, and feared a rivalry which was much more formidable in appearance than in reality. The royal epistle concludes with the emphatic declaration: "The Queen will *not* stand the attempts made to destroy the simple and truly Protestant faith of the Church of Scotland and to bring the Church of England as near the Church of Rome as possible." The immediate occasion of this outburst seems to have been that Dr. Longley, Archbishop of Canterbury, had presumed to lay the first stone of the Cathedral at Inverness, thereby, in Queen Victoria's opinion, affronting the Scottish Establishment. In 1874 she wrote to Disraeli maintaining that "the sovereign of the country has always been considered the head of the Church of England and also of the Scotch Church." Disraeli replied with unusual bluntness by stating that Queen Elizabeth had long ago waived the title "Head of the

Church of England," and that in the view of the Lord Advocate "the connection of the Sovereign with the Kirk is purely civil."

10. The Smaller Churches

The smaller and less prominent evangelical churches in Scotland have with the growth of toleration and comprehensiveness gained more and more of a recognised place in the religious life of the country. There being no tendency on the part of the dominant Presbyterianism to unchurch rival bodies of Christians, their position was made in some respects easier, in others more difficult. They were in no danger of persecution, but they were necessarily limited in opportunities of progress.

Independency.

Independency, while adhering on the whole to its moderate Calvinistic traditions, was becoming more liberal in its outlook. In 1873 the idea of the Congregational Union as a brotherhood of the churches was further emphasised by an addition to the statement of its objects declaring that it existed "to cultivate fraternal affection, fraternal intercourse, and cordial co-operation in all that relates to the interest of the associated churches." Not as yet was there any approach to amalgamation with the

Evangelical Union.

Evangelical Union. The remembrance of the action taken by the leaders of Scottish Independency against those of their students who sympathised with Morison's views was still too poignant, and it looked for a while as if the E.U. body would advance along mildly Presbyterian lines of administration. In their original manifesto they advocated the appointment of elders as well as deacons. Their annual Conference consisted of all the pastors and two lay delegates from each congregation. While it did not interfere with the internal affairs of individual churches unless by agreed reference to its judgment, it reserved to itself the right, should any scandal arise, whether through ministerial or congregational delinquency, to point out the path of duty and ask that it be pursued. A Commission was appointed annually to watch over the interests of the denomination. In

practice, however, the elements of independency became more and more prominent, and the absence of anything corresponding to a local Presbytery meant the almost entire autonomy of the congregation. In 1874 there were eighty-one Evangelical Union Churches, pretty well scattered throughout the country. The leading professors of the Church besides Morison, the founder, were John Guthrie, a man of no little ability and fine catholicity of spirit, described by George Gilfillan as the Melanchthon of the Evangelical Union, and John Kirk, who held the Chair of Practical Theology. Guthrie was chiefly responsible for the new Doctrinal Declaration of 1858. One is struck by the literary activity of this small Church, especially in the periodical press. It started in 1846 *The Christian News*, which lived long enough to be accounted the oldest religious weekly in Scotland. It issued a quarterly, *The Evangelical Repository*, which ran its course for nearly thirty years, and a monthly magazine, *Forward*, "for the promotion of a liberal evangelical theology and the advancement of practical Christianity," which during its short career from 1867 onwards contained articles by such rising stars as Andrew M. Fairbairn, George Matheson, and William Robertson Nicoll.

A polemical note was characteristic of the Evangelical Union during the half-century of its existence. It stood for a special type of Christian doctrine and experience more than for any form of polity. Like the Covenanters, the Marrowmen, and the Seceders of a previous age, these men bore an exaggerated witness to certain elements of the truth that the future was to recognise in proper perspective.

Catholic Apostolic Church.

A curious circumstance not easily explained is that between 1869 and 1877 several ministers of the Evangelical Union became members of the Catholic Apostolic (Irvingite) Church and were publicly identified with it. That Church does not require its members to surrender any ministry they may exercise in other Churches, and therefore a test case, that of the Rev. John Andrew, came before the E.U. Conference in 1869, when it was

decided that his subjection to another authority was incompatible with his continuance as a member of the Union, and his name was therefore removed from the ministerial roll. John Macleod, the well-known parish minister of Duns and afterwards of Govan, was also powerfully influenced by the teaching and ritual of the Catholic Apostolic communion, but in his case no action was taken by the courts of the Church of Scotland. Edward Irving's apocalyptic mysticism found acceptance only in very select circles, but the Catholic Apostolic Church in Edinburgh possessed a certain prestige. The same may be said about Quakerism. If the principles of the Society of Friends had taken root more deeply north of the Tweed they might have done something to modify the hard dogmatism and prickly patriotism that have at times brought reproach on the national character.

Baptists.

The *Scottish Baptists*, most thoroughgoing of Independents, and most dissident of Dissenters, suffered from lack of organisation. Several attempts in that direction had failed—the first through "fear of Presbyterianising the churches and clericalising the ministry"; the second because of the removal to England of Francis Johnstone, its active promoter; the third owing to its limited scope, aiming only at the education of young men for the pastorate. The congregations were few, limited in numbers, and isolated. Many of them held independent views that kept them jealously apart. Variety of opinion as to the ministry, open or close communion, and aspects of doctrine served to confirm the isolation even of neighbouring churches. Consequently there was very little co-operation except for home and foreign mission work. Not till October 1869 was the present Union of Baptist Churches in Scotland formed. One of its chief founders was Richard Glover, then a minister in Glasgow and afterwards in Bristol, where he became a shining light among the English Baptists, and the father of Dr. T. R. Glover, the famous Cambridge scholar and religious teacher. The Union had on its roll at first only 51 churches and 3500 members, just a little more than half of the then existing Baptist

congregations. The stated objects were "to promote fellowship among the churches, to strengthen and expand missionary operations at home and abroad, to help churches to maintain an efficient ministry, to provide suitable accommodation for public worship, and to encourage church extension." Theological training was taken over from the previously existing association. Dr. Culross, at that time in Stirling, was appointed tutor, and on his acceptance of a call to London in 1871 other arrangements were made. The first secretary of the Union was William Tulloch, who did much to infuse new life into the activities of the denomination and to give it the cohesion it previously lacked.

Methodism.

In the later 'sixties Wesleyan *Methodism* had grown to a membership of over 5000, with 27 ministers in charge. By 1874 the Primitive Methodists had multiplied a good deal in the West of Scotland, especially in the rising industrial districts round about Glasgow, but their appeal was mostly to workers coming from England, and they did not aim at enrolling a large number of communicants.

Original Seceders.

The *Original Seceders* ("Auld Lichts") maintained as a distinctive principle the continued obligation of the National Covenants, which they solemnly renewed from time to time. The third and last occasion on which their Synod engaged in "the work of Covenant Renovation" was in connection with a fraternal union formed with the Irish Secession Synod at Belfast in 1873. Two years before, foreign mission work was undertaken in the Central Provinces of India, the field chosen being the town of Seoni in the Gond country. The other surviving remnant of the strict Covenant tradition, the branch of the *Reformed Presbyterian Church* which declined in 1863 to follow the majority into union negotiations with the Free Church, differed on only one point from the Original Secession—the question as to whether such acts as taking the oath of allegiance to the British Government and exercising the franchise did or did not involve complicity in the attitude of the State in disregarding the obligation of the National Covenants.

Reformed Presbyteries.

Conferences as to a possible union failed to remove this barrier. While both Churches professed firm adherence to the Covenants, the Seceders did not consider it inconsistent to vote for members of Parliament.

There is something pathetic in the tenacious clinging of these faithful remnants to a great but outgrown past, but it would be a profound mistake to regard as schismatics those who have ever claimed their birthright in the historic Scottish Church and in the larger communion of saints.

II. Literature

Lectureships.

The founding of the Cunningham Lectureship in 1864, the first of its kind in Scotland, was certainly a stimulus to theological study. Dr. Candlish delivered the opening course on "The Fatherhood of God," in which he set himself to prove (1) that God is not and never has been to any one a Father in any true sense of that term save in and through Jesus Christ, and (2) that to all to whom He is Father He is so precisely in the same sense as He is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ. A wider view was taken by Dr. T. J. Crawford, Professor of Divinity in Edinburgh University, in what was really a reply to Candlish under the same title (1866), and the Free Church leader continued the controversy in a supplementary volume. Other series of the Cunningham Lectures followed at intervals of two or three years, but the only contributions of this period that are still read are Dr. James Walker's *Theology and Theologians of Scotland* (1872), a masterly work, and Dr. Rainy's *Delivery and Development of Christian Doctrine* (1874), of permanent value notwithstanding its unattractive literary style. Crawford maintained his reputation as a sane and wise theologian by his books on *The Atonement* (1871) and *The Mysteries of Christianity* (1874). The latter was the first Baird Lecture of importance. Professor Smeaton defended the limited view of the Atonement in two volumes largely exegetical, but Dr. Hugh Martin showed more original ability on the conservative

side. Tulloch's *Rational Theology and Christian Philosophy in England in the Seventeenth Century* (1872) was a valuable contribution to the broadening of Scottish religious thought, and in June 1874 there came also from St. Andrews evidence that a new and very able philosophic thinker had won his spurs in a wider field of literature. Flint's *Philosophy of History in France and Germany*, then published, intended as the initial part of a *magnum opus* on the philosophy of history in Europe, remained a "monumental torso," for its author afterwards diverted his massive powers of intellect to theological problems. The death of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen in 1870 was followed in 1871 by the publication of *The Spiritual Order* and other papers selected from his manuscripts, and as nothing new by this remarkable man had been given to the world since 1857 (his literary activity was greatest between 1820 and 1828), his influence began to revive and was intensified later by the appearance of his letters edited by Dr. Hanna. Of the Bible commentaries published in this decade the best on the whole were those of Dr. James Morison, founder of the Evangelical Union, on *Matthew* (1870) and *Mark* (1873), though Eadie's *Galatians*, Fairbairn's *Pastoral Epistles*, Candlish's *First John*, and Gloag's *Acts* deserve mention. Hanna's *Life of Christ*, which came out in a succession of volumes with different titles, was an excellent pioneer effort in a field greatly cultivated since. But of more lasting value than any of these was *The Training of the Twelve*, by A. B. Bruce (1871), then a minister at Broughty-Ferry, the first-fruits of his fresh and illuminating study of the Gospels. In the Old Testament field nothing of consequence appeared unless A. B. Davidson's *Hebrew Grammar* (1872). Two Bible dictionaries are worthy of note, though both suffering from the transition time at which they appeared—Lindsay Alexander's revised edition of *Kitto* (1861–70) and P. Fairbairn's *Imperial Bible Dictionary*, completed in 1866. Neither of these obtained the popularity of Dr. William Smith's (published during the same period), which though equally

Theology and Philosophy.

Bible Commentaries.

conservative had more of the pleasant and readable flavour of English scholarship.

Patristic Study.

Patristic study, long neglected in Scotland, was revived by the issue of the Ante-Nicene Christian Library, carried through by the enterprise of Messrs. T. & T. Clark. The first volumes, edited by Dr. James Donaldson of the Edinburgh High School and Professor A. Roberts of St. Andrews, appeared in 1867, and among the most active of the translators was Marcus Dods, who made his début as an independent author in 1867 by a small volume on *The Epistles to the Seven Churches*. Donaldson had previously published (1865) *A Critical History of Christian Life and Doctrine from the Death of the Apostles to the Nicene Council. I. The Apostolic Fathers*, which promised well but was never completed. Of a life of Chrysostom, *John of the Golden Mouth, Preacher of Antioch and Primate of Constantinople*, by Dr. W. MacGilvray of Aberdeen, a contemporary reviewer wrote: "Apart from the recent publications of Messrs. Clark we cannot call to mind a previous case of any of the celebrated Fathers of the Pre-Reformation Church having occupied the attention of any father of the Scottish Presbyterian Church to the extent of putting forth a volume about him." Mention should also be made of Dr. Thomas M'Lachlan's *Early Scottish Celtic Church*, the ecclesiastical history of Scotland from the first to the twelfth century (1865). Hew Scott's *Fasti of the Church of Scotland* was finished in 1868. Mackelvie's *Annals and Statistics of the United Presbyterian Church* saw the light in 1873. We have already referred to Taylor Innes's important work on *The Law of Creeds*.

Scottish Church History.

Church Worship.

The Renascence of Worship in the Scottish Church caused some literary activity. Dr. Robert Lee's book on *The Reform of Worship* (1864) has been alluded to in connection with the controversy associated with his name. The same year saw the republication of the 1635 Scottish Psalter under the careful editorship of Neil Livingstone, revealing the high standard of psalmody that had prevailed in Scotland before the Covenanting

ascendancy. Besides successive editions of the *Euchologion*, the optional liturgy prepared by the Church Service Society from 1867 onwards, there was an important reissue of *Knox's Book of Common Order* and the *Westminster Directory*, with an introduction by Sprott and Leishman in 1868. Scottish Episcopacy produced a great liturgical scholar in George Forbes of Burntisland, brother of Bishop Forbes of Brechin, who between 1855 and 1867 made a careful collection of the ancient service-books of the Gallican Church.[1]

Sermons, etc.

A volume of *Sermons* by the Rev. John Ker of Glasgow (1869) gave evidence to the world of a preacher of rare quality, and those of Dr. William Pulsford (1873) also possessed a note of distinction. Boyd of St. Andrews issued three more volumes of self-revealing essays in the style he had made peculiarly his own. To the literature of devotion belong Dr. Andrew Bonar's edition of *Samuel Rutherford's Letters*, and *Divine Compassion* (1864), a thoughtful work by Dr. Culross, then a Baptist minister in Stirling. One of the earliest essays in the study of comparative religion was Dr. John Robson's *Hinduism* (1867).

Biography.

The art of producing first-rate religious biography was still to be learned by Scottish writers, but a few books in that line stand out above the rest, such as *The Life of W. C. Burns*, the heroic Chinese missionary, by his brother, Islay Burns (1869); Peter Bayne's *Hugh Miller* (1871); Brown's *John Duncan* (1872), a good companion to *Colloquia Peripatetica*; Gilfillan's *Anderson* (1873); *Guthrie's Autobiography and Life*, by his son, vol. i. (1874); and Story's *William Carstairs* (1874).

Poetry.

Walter C. Smith found in poetry a safer outlet than prose for his reflections on life and contemporary thought. *Olrig Grange*, perhaps his best known work, appeared in 1872 under the pseudonym of "Hermann Kunst." Thomas Davidson, a probationer for the ministry of the United Presbyterian Church, who died prematurely of consumption in 1870, showed a real touch of genius in

[1] See article by Principal Perry on "George Forbes, Liturgist and Scholar," in *Church Quarterly Review*, January 1926.

his poems and letters, many of which were included by Dr. James Brown in the delightful biography published some years later.[1] One of Davidson's compositions gained an entrance to the *Cornhill Magazine* during the first year of Thackeray's editorship, and another is still a favourite students' song. Hugh MacMillan of Greenock was the first Scottish Churchman who sought to apply the new discoveries of science to spiritual ends. His *Bible Teachings in Nature* (1867) became very popular, and were translated into French, German, Italian, Spanish, and Danish. He pursued the same line in later books—*The Ministry of Nature* (1871), *The True Vine*, and *The Garden and the City* (1872). The Duke of Argyll's *Reign of Law*, also published in 1867, was among the earliest attempts to relate orthodox conceptions to the new scientific standpoint.

Science.

Periodicals.

Periodical literature was chiefly represented by monthly magazines, such as *Good Words*, *The Sunday Magazine*, *The Family Treasury*, and the *British and Foreign Evangelical Review*, a quarterly which in July 1871 enrolled Robertson Smith among its contributors. His first literary work therein contained was a digest and criticism of the principal contents of the German and Dutch theological periodicals, with short notices of the most important foreign theological books. *The North British Review* came to an end in 1871 after a somewhat chequered career. Peter Bayne edited for a while in London *The Weekly Review*, which had a broader tone than was common in Presbyterian circles. A large proportion of the literature of those years was controversial, and has already been mentioned.

Viewed in general, the literary output of this period was richer in promise than in performance. Much of it is now entirely obsolete, but the soil was being prepared by teaching in the theological colleges and otherwise for a rich harvest to be reaped later.

[1] *Life of a Scottish Probationer*, 1876.

12. Personal Factors

Our narrative has already shown rather strikingly how much the movements of this period depended on personal factors. Candlish, Rainy, and Cairns were the soul of the negotiations for Union, and Begg incarnated the opposition to it. Pirie and Charteris had most to do with the abolition of Patronage in the Church of Scotland. The battle over innovations could not be separated from the name of Robert Lee. Norman Macleod was closely identified with the Sabbath controversy. Doctrinal discussions ranged around the persons of Tulloch, Wallace, Knight, Walter C. Smith, Fergus Ferguson. The spiritual awakening of 1874 came to be known as the Moody and Sankey Revival. Behind political and social activities stood the commanding figures of Gladstone and Disraeli.

Preachers.

The pulpit has always been a mighty influence in Scotland, and the personality of her preachers has often swayed the national thought and action. The opinion of Lord Sands, stated in 1919, may be quoted: "I do not think that the Church of Scotland or any other Church now possesses a group of preachers comparable in popularity, power, and variety of interest with Norman Macleod, Caird, Tulloch, Flint, Macgregor, Boyd, Burns, and Milligan, who were all in the zenith of their power in 1870." [1] In the other Churches the average preaching quality was probably still higher, and distinguished names were not lacking. The Disruption Fathers still enjoyed special prestige in the Free Church and a monopoly of the Moderatorship, but with the passing of Candlish in 1873 a new era began. On his death-bed he bequeathed the care of his great congregation to Alexander Whyte, who had come from Glasgow to be his colleague, and the care of the College and the Assembly to Robert Rainy. Thomas Guthrie passed away in 1873. Larger issues than the Disruption were to be the concern of the new leadership. The career of

[1] *Life of Dr. Archibald Scott*, p. 38.

William Arnot was ending, that of Marcus Dods was beginning. The evangelistic type of minister characteristic of the Free Kirk had outstanding representatives in the Bonars, William Ross, A. N. Somerville, and J. Hood Wilson. Among Edinburgh preachers, Bruce of St. Andrew's was a very distinctive figure. In the United Presbyterian Church, Cairns's Berwick period was coming to a close, and his gifts were to be more and more at the disposal of all Scotland Renton and Hutton kept the Voluntary flag well aloft. Joseph Brown of Glasgow was a powerful advocate of Temperance and other good causes. The brothers Jeffrey (George and Robert), Neil M'Michael, James Taylor, and Johnston of Limekilns were ministers of strongly marked individuality.[1] Ker, Robertson of Irvine, Joseph Leckie, and James Brown of Paisley sounded a more modern note.

Elders.

The eldership has always played a prominent part in the Scottish Church, though in some periods more than others. At the Disruption and after, it had no inconsiderable part in the Councils of the Free Church. In the absence of a Lord High Commissioner there was for a while a tendency to pay special regard to those of the nobility and gentry who adhered to the popular cause. Hence the practice which continued for many years of the nomination to the Moderatorship being seconded by the Earl of Dalhousie and after his death by another earl or titled personage. But a new type of elder was coming to the front in all the Churches—the liberal giver, the devoted Sunday-school worker, the earnest business man, the speaker who had gained proficiency in the law courts or in the Town Council. There was a decided revival at this time in the Church of Scotland of lay influence, elders, especially of the legal profession, taking a larger share in the procedure of the ecclesiastical courts. But outside the orthodox church organisations there was an increasing number of laymen who gave themselves to evangelistic and philanthropic effort, and contributed

[1] See *Scottish Clerical Stories and Reminiscences*, by Dr. Charles Jerdan, 1921.

largely by their life and example to the moral and spiritual quickening of the land.

AUTHORITIES FOR CHAPTER V

Denominational reports, pamphlets, magazines, daily and weekly newspapers, and other literary products of an ephemeral or occasional kind are the main sources for this period. The files of *The Scotsman* abound in caustic criticisms of the Churches and their leaders. *The Daily Review*, edited for a short time by Henry Kingsley, latterly by Dr. George Smith, previously of *The Friend of India*, reflects the Free Church standpoint, *The Courant* that of conservative Churchism. *The Glasgow Herald* should be consulted for the West of Scotland. Not many of the controversial books of the time can be regarded as helpful to impartial judgment.

On Union negotiations and proposals the Reports of the Free and United Presbyterian Committees, with the Proceedings of the Free Church Assembly and the Minutes of the United Presbyterian Synod from 1863–74, are of chief value. The lives of *Begg* (Dr. T. Smith), *R. Buchanan* (Dr. N. Walker), *Cairns* (MacEwen), *Candlish* (Dr. W. Wilson), and *Rainy* (Carnegie Simpson), while of greatly varying quality as biographies—those of Begg and Candlish rank very low in that department of literature—contain much material for careful study.

The progress and testimony of the United Presbyterian Church are set forth in *The Soul of a Scottish Church*, by Dr. D. Woodside (1917).

The Anti-Patronage Agitation gave rise to many pamphlets, to be consulted in the Church of Scotland and New College Libraries. The Acts of the General Assembly of the Kirk are very important here, also the Parliamentary Debates in *Hansard*. Chapters ix. and x. in Gordon's *Life of Charteris* are indispensable.

For the Battle over Innovations, R. H. Story's *Life of Lee*, vol. ii., is the main authority. See also some of the

Lee Memorial Lectures, particularly Kerr's *Renascence of Worship in the Scottish Church* (1909), and the earlier chapters of A. K. H. B.'s St. Andrews recollections.

The Sabbath controversy has a prominent place in the *Life of Norman Macleod*, by his brother. R. Cox's *Literature of the Sabbath Question* (1865) is good for the early Bibliography. Assembly Reports on Sabbath Observance reveal the changing aspects of the controversy. Other books are mentioned in the text.

Under Doctrinal Transition, Tulloch's *Movements of Religious Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, St. Giles Lectures (1885), should be read for a general treatment of the issues involved, and from the philosophical side A. C. Fraser's *Autobiography*, *The Life of Hutchison Stirling*, and Edward Caird's Memoir of his brother, John Caird, prefixed to Gifford Lectures of 1880. See also *Life of Principal Caird*, by C. L. Warr (1926).

The spiritual movements of the time are to be studied in such biographies as those of *Charteris*, *J. H. Wilson* (Wells), and *Ross of Cowcaddens*. *Revivals and Revival Work: A Record of the Labours of D. L. Moody and Ira D. Sankey and other Evangelists*, by the Rev. James Macpherson (Morgan & Scott), *The Life of D. L. Moody*, by his son, and especially *The Life of Henry Drummond*, by G. A. Smith, chapter iv., give more or less detailed accounts of the 1874 awakening.

Political and social events must find a setting in histories of the period. On education there is an extensive literature by experts, one of the latest contributions being *Problems of National Education* (Macmillan, 1919), chapter i. of which, by MacGillivray, gives an admirable review of the fifty years from 1867 onwards. The articles by A. Craig Sellar in *Recess Studies* (1870) are valuable.

For the Scottish Episcopal Church see *Thirty Years of Progress in the Scottish Episcopal Church*, by the Rev. D. J. Mackay, M.A., Perth, and *History of the Lay Claims under the Scottish Bishops*, by Dean Farquhar (Dumfries, 1911), with the biographies of Bishops Chas. Wordsworth and Ewing.

APPENDIX A

FREE CHURCH PROTEST OF 1843

WE, the undersigned Ministers and Elders, chosen as Commissioners to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, indicted to meet this day, but precluded from holding the said Assembly by reason of the circumstances hereinafter set forth, in consequence of which a free Assembly of the Church of Scotland, in accordance with the laws and constitution of the said Church, cannot at this time be holden, —considering that the Legislature, by their rejection of the Claim of Right adopted by the last General Assembly of the said Church, and their refusal to give redress and protection against the jurisdiction assumed, and the coercion of late repeatedly attempted to be exercised over the Courts of the Church in matters spiritual by the civil courts, have recognised and fixed the conditions of the Church Establishment, as henceforward to subsist in Scotland, to be such as these have been pronounced and declared by the said civil courts in their several recent decisions, in regard to matters spiritual and ecclesiastical, whereby it has been *inter alia* declared,—

1st. That the courts of the Church as now established, and members thereof, are liable to be coerced by the civil courts in the exercise of their spiritual functions; and in particular, in their admission to the office of the holy ministry, and the constitution of the pastoral relation, and that they are subject to be compelled to intrude ministers on reclaiming congregations in opposition to the fundamental principles of the Church, and their views of the Word of God, and to the liberties of Christ's people.

2nd. That the said civil courts have power to interfere with, and interdict the preaching of the gospel and administration of ordinances as authorised and enjoined by the church courts of the Establishment.

3rd. That the said civil courts have power to suspend spiritual censures pronounced by the Church courts of the Establishment against Ministers and probationers of the Church, and to interdict their execution as to spiritual effects, functions, and privileges.

4th. That the said civil courts have power to reduce and set aside the sentences of the Church courts of the Establishment, deposing ministers from the office of the holy ministry, and depriving probationers of their license to preach the gospel, with reference to the spiritual status, functions, and privileges of such ministers and probationers,—restoring them

to the spiritual office and status of which the Church courts had deprived them.

5th. That the said civil courts have power to determine on the right to sit as members of the supreme and other judicatories of the Church by law established, and to issue interdicts against sitting and voting therein, irrespective of the judgement and determination of the said judicatories.

6th. That the said civil courts have power to supersede the majority of a Church court of the Establishment, in regard to the exercise of its spiritual functions as a Church court, and to authorise the minority to exercise the said functions, in opposition to the court itself, and to the superior judicatories of the Establishment.

7th. That the said civil courts have power to stay processes of discipline pending before courts of the Church by law established, and to interdict such courts from proceeding therein.

8th. That no pastor of a congregation can be admitted into the Church courts of the Establishment, and allowed to rule, as well as to teach, agreeably to the institution of the office by the Head of the Church, nor to sit in any of the judicatories of the Church, inferior or supreme, and that no additional provision can be made for the exercise of spiritual discipline among members of the Church, though not affecting any patrimonial interests, and no alteration introduced in the state of pastoral superintendence and spiritual discipline in any parish, without the sanction of a civil court.

All which jurisdiction and power on the part of the said civil courts severally above specified, whatever proceeding may have given occasion to its exercise, is in our opinion, in itself inconsistent with Christian liberty and with the authority which the Head of the Church hath conferred on the Church alone.

And further, considering that a General Assembly, composed, in accordance with the laws and fundamental principles of the Church, in part of commissioners themselves admitted without the sanction of the civil court, or chosen by presbyteries, composed in part of members not having that sanction, cannot be constituted as an Assembly of the Establishment, without disregarding the law and the legal conditions of the same, as now fixed and declared.

And further, considering that such commissioners as aforesaid would, as members of an Assembly of the Establishment, be liable to be interdicted from exercising their functions, and to be subjected to civil coercion at the instance of any individual having interest who might apply to the civil courts for that purpose.

And considering, further, that civil coercion has already been in divers instances applied for and used, whereby certain Commissioners returned to the Assembly this day appointed to have been holden, have been interdicted from claiming

their seats, and from sitting and voting therein, and certain presbyteries have been, by interdicts directed against the members, prevented from freely choosing commissioners to the said Assembly, whereby the freedom of such Assembly, and the liberty of election thereto, has been forcibly obstructed and taken away.

And further, considering that, in these circumstances, a free Assembly of the Church of Scotland by law established cannot at this time be holden, and that any Assembly, in accordance with the fundamental principles of the Church, cannot be constituted in connection with the State, without violating the conditions which must now, since the rejection by the Legislature of the Church's Claim of Right, be held to be the conditions of the Establishment.

And considering that, while heretofore, as members of Church judicatories ratified by law and recognised by the Constitution of the kingdom, we held ourselves entitled and bound to exercise and maintain the jurisdiction vested in these judicatories with the sanction of the Constitution, notwithstanding the decrees as to matters spiritual and ecclesiastical of the civil courts, because we could not see that the State had required submission thereto as a condition of the Establishment, but, on the contrary, were satisfied that the State, by the acts of the Parliament of Scotland, for ever and unalterably secured to this nation by the Treaty of Union, had repudiated any power in the civil courts to pronounce such decrees, we are now constrained to acknowledge it to be the mind and will of the State, as recently declared, that such submission should and does form a condition of the Establishment, and of the profession of the benefits thereof; and that as we cannot, without committing what we believe to be sin,—in opposition to God's law, in disregard of the honour and authority of Christ's crown, and in violation of our own solemn vows,—comply with this condition; we cannot in conscience continue connected with, and retain the benefits of, the Establishment, to which such condition is attached.

We, therefore, the Ministers and Elders aforesaid, on this, the first occasion since the rejection by the Legislature of the Church's Claim of Right, when the commissioners chosen from throughout the bounds of the Church to the General Assembly appointed to have been this day holden, are convened together, do protest that the conditions foresaid, while we deem them contrary to, and subversive of, the settlement of Church Government effected at the Revolution, and solemnly guaranteed by the Act of Security and Treaty of Union, are also at variance with God's Word, in opposition to the doctrines and fundamental principles of the Church of Scotland, inconsistent with the freedom essential to the right constitution of a Church of Christ, and incompatible with the government

which He, as the Head of His Church, hath therein appointed distinct from the civil magistrate.

And we further protest, that any Assembly constituted in submission to the conditions now declared to be law, and under the civil coercion which has been brought to bear in the election of commissioners to the Assembly this day appointed to have been holden, and on the commissioners chosen thereto, is not and shall not be deemed a free and lawful Assembly of the Church of Scotland, according to the original and fundamental principles thereof, and that the Claim, Declaration, and Protest, of the General Assembly which convened at Edinburgh in May 1842, as the act of a free and lawful Assembly of the said Church, shall be holden as setting forth the true constitution of the said Church; and that the said Claim, along with the laws of the Church now subsisting, shall in nowise be affected by whatsoever acts and proceedings of any Assembly constituted under the conditions now declared to be the law, and in submission to the coercion now imposed on the Establishment.

And, finally, while firmly asserting the right and duty of the civil magistrate, to maintain and support an establishment of religion in accordance with God's Word, and reserving to ourselves and our successors to strive by all lawful means, as opportunity shall in God's good providence be offered, to secure the performance of this duty agreeably to the Scriptures, and in implement of the statutes of the kingdom of Scotland, and the obligations of the Treaty of Union, as understood by us and our ancestors, but acknowledging that we do not hold ourselves at liberty to retain the benefits of the Establishment while we cannot comply with the conditions now to be deemed thereto attached—we protest, that in the circumstances in which we are placed, it is and shall be lawful for us and such other commissioners chosen to the Assembly appointed to have been this day holden, as may concur with us, to withdraw to a separate place of meeting, for the purpose of taking steps for ourselves and all who adhere to us—maintaining with us the Confession of Faith and Standards of the Church of Scotland, as heretofore understood—for separating in an orderly way from the Establishment; and thereupon adopting such measures as may be competent to us, in humble dependence on God's grace and the aid of the Holy Spirit, for the advancement of His glory, the extension of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour, and the administration of the affairs of Christ's house, according to His holy Word; and we do now withdraw accordingly, humbly and solemnly acknowledging the hand of the Lord in the things which have come upon us, because of our manifold sins, and the sins of this Church and nation; but, at the same time, with an assured conviction, that we are not responsible for any consequences that may follow from this our enforced separation from an

Establishment which we loved and prized—through interference with conscience, the dishonour done to Christ's Crown, and the rejection of his sole and supreme authority as King in his Church.

Signed by

DAVID WELSH, *Moderator*,
and 201 Ministers and Elders.

May 18, 1843.

APPENDIX B

BASIS OF UNION AS ADOPTED BY SECESSION AND RELIEF SYNODS IN 1847

I. THAT the Word of God contained in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments is the only rule of faith and practice.

II. That the Westminster Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechisms, are the confession and catechisms of this church, and contain the authorised exhibition of the sense in which we understand the Holy Scriptures, it being always understood that we do not approve of any thing in these documents which teaches, or may be supposed to teach, compulsory or persecuting and intolerant principles in religion.

III. That Presbyterian government, without any superiority of office to that of a teaching presbyter, and in a due subordination of church courts, which is founded on, and agreeable to, the Word of God, is the government of this church.

IV. That the ordinances of worship shall be administered in the United Church as they have been in both bodies of which it is formed; and that the Westminster Directory of Worship continue to be regarded as a compilation of excellent rules.

V. That the term of membership is a credible profession of the faith of Christ as held by this church—a profession made with intelligence, and justified by a corresponding character and deportment.

VI. That with regard to those ministers and sessions who think that the 2nd section of the 26th chapter of the Westminster Confession of Faith, authorises free communion—that is, not loose, or indiscriminate communion, but the occasional admission to fellowship in the Lord's Supper of persons, respecting whose Christian character satisfactory evidence has been obtained, though belonging to other religious denominations, they shall enjoy what they enjoyed in their separate

communions—the right of acting on their conscientious convictions.

VII. That the election of office-bearers of this church, in its several congregations, belongs, by the authority of Christ, exclusively to the members in full communion.

VIII. That this church solemnly recognises the obligation to hold forth, as well as to hold fast, the doctrine and laws of Christ; and to make exertions for the universal diffusion of the blessings of his gospel at home and abroad.

IX. That as the Lord hath ordained that they who preach the gospel should live of the gospel—that they who are taught in the Word should communicate to him that teacheth in all good things—that they who are strong should help the weak—and that, having freely received, they should freely give the gospel to those who are destitute of it—this church asserts the obligation and the privilege of its members, influenced by regard to the authority of Christ, to support and extend, by voluntary contributions, the ordinances of the gospel.

X. That the respective bodies of which this church is composed, without requiring from each other an approval of the steps of procedure by their fathers, or interfering with the right of private judgment in reference to these, unite in regarding, as still valid, the reasons on which they have hitherto maintained their state of secession and separation from the judicatories of the Established Church, as expressed in the authorised documents of the respective bodies; and in maintaining the lawfulness and obligation of separation from ecclesiastical bodies in which dangerous error is tolerated; or the discipline of the church, or the rights of her ministers, or members, are disregarded.

The United Church, in their present most solemn circumstances, join in expressing their grateful acknowledgment to the great Head of the Church, for the measure of spiritual good which He has accomplished by them in their separate state—their deep sense of the many imperfections and sins which have marked their ecclesiastical management—and their determined resolution, in dependence on the promised grace of their Lord, to apply more faithfully the great principles of church-fellowship—to be more watchful in reference to admission and discipline, that the purity and efficiency of their congregations may be promoted, and the great end of their existence, as a collective body, may be answered with respect to all within its pale, and to all without it, whether members of other denominations, or "the world lying in wickedness."

And, in fine, the United Church regard with a feeling of brotherhood all the faithful followers of Christ, and shall endeavour to maintain the unity of the whole body of Christ, by a readiness to co-operate with all its members in all things in which they are agreed.

APPENDIX C

ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN NEGOTIATING CHURCHES ON RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE (1867)

(1) That civil government is an ordinance of God, for His own glory and the public good ; that to the Lord Jesus Christ is given all power in heaven and on earth ; and that all men in their several places and relations, and therefore civil magistrates in theirs, are under obligation to submit themselves to Christ, and to regulate their conduct by His Word.

(2) That the civil magistrate ought himself to embrace and profess the religion of Christ : and though his office is civil, and not spiritual, yet, like other Christians in their places and relations, he ought, acting in his public capacity as a magistrate, to further the interests of the religion of the Lord Jesus Christ among his subjects, in every way consistent with its spirit and enactments ; and that he ought to be ruled by it in the making of laws, the administration of justice, the swearing of oaths, and other matters of civil jurisdiction.

(3) That while the civil magistrate, in legislating as to matters within his own province, may and ought, for his own guidance, to judge what is agreeable to the Word of God : yet, inasmuch as he has no authority in spiritual things, and as in these the employment of force is opposed to the spirit and precepts of Christianity, which disclaim and prohibit all persecution, it is not within his province authoritatively to prescribe to his subjects, or to impose upon them, a creed or form of worship, or to interfere with that government which the Lord Jesus Christ has appointed in His Church, in the hands of Church officers, or to invade any of the rights and liberties which Christ has conferred on His Church, and which accordingly all powers on earth ought to hold sacred ; it being the exclusive prerogative of the Lord Jesus to rule in matters of faith, worship, and discipline.

(4) That marriage, the Sabbath, and the appointment of days of humiliation and thanksgiving, are practical instances to which these principles apply. (1) In regard to marriage, the civil magistrate may and ought to frame his marriage laws according to the rule of the Divine Word. (2) In regard to the Sabbath, the civil magistrate,—recognising its perpetual obligation according to the rule of the Divine Word, especially as contained in the original institution of the Sabbath, in the fourth commandment, and in the teaching and example of our Lord and His apostles, and recognising also its inestimable

value in many ways to human society,—may and ought in his administration to respect its sacred character, to legislate in the matter of its outward observance, and to protect the people in the enjoyment of the privilege of resting from their week-day occupations, and devoting the day to the public and private exercises of Divine worship. (3) The civil magistrate may, and on suitable occasions ought, to appoint days on which his subjects shall be invited to engage in acts of humiliation or of thanksgiving; but without authoritatively prescribing or enforcing any special form of religious service, or otherwise interposing his authority beyond securing to them the opportunity of exercising their free discretion for these purposes.

(5) That the Church and the State being ordinances of God, distinct from each other, they are capable of existing without either of them intruding into the proper province of the other, and ought not so to intrude. Erastian supremacy of the State over the Church, and anti-Christian domination of the Church over the State, ought to be condemned; and all schemes of connexion involving or tending to either are, therefore, to be avoided. The Church has a spiritual authority over such of the subjects and rulers of earthly kingdoms as are in her communion; and the civil powers have the same secular authority over the members and office-bearers of the Church as over the rest of their subjects. The Church has no power over earthly kingdoms in their collective and civil capacity; nor have they any power over her as a Church. But, though thus distinct, the Church and the State owe mutual duties to each other, and, acting within their respective spheres, may be signally subservient to each other's welfare.

(6) That the Church cannot lawfully surrender or compromise her spiritual independence for any worldly consideration or advantage whatsoever. And further, the Church must ever maintain the essential and perpetual obligation which Christ has laid on all His people to support and extend His Church by free-will offerings.

APPENDIX D

HISTORY OF PATRONAGE IN THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

(*Based on Report to General Assembly*, 1870)

From the Reformation down to 1874 there may be said to have been a more or less continuous struggle in the Church of Scotland against patronage as imposed upon her by the

State. The view of the Church was expressed in the First Book of Discipline as set forth in 1560: "It appertaineth to the people and to every several congregation to elect their minister." The Book of Common Order, which had been used in Knox's congregation in Geneva and was received and approved by the Church of Scotland, together with the directions of the General Assembly of 1560, are all explicit on the point. But nevertheless by the statutes of 1567 by which Popery was abolished and the Reformed religion recognised and established, it was ordained "that the examination and admission of Ministers within this realm be only in the power of the Kirk now openly and publicly professed within the same —the presentation of laick patronages alwaies reserved to the just and auncient patrones."

The Second Book of Discipline, which was agreed to by the General Assembly of 1578, protests not less distinctly than the first, against lay patronage; but the remonstrances of the Church were unavailing, and in the Act 1592, c. 116, which gave the sanction of the civil power to the Presbyterian form of church government, it was expressly provided that the presbytery "be bound and astricted to receive and admit quhatsumever qualified minister presented be His Majestie or uther laic patrones."

From 1592 to 1649, including the thirty years of Episcopacy, patronage continued to be the law binding on the Church. In 1649, by an Act passed during the Protectorate, patronage was abolished and ministers of parishes were directed to be called with the consent of the congregation, on whom none were to be obtruded against their will, leaving the Church to arrange the working of the Act by regulations of its own, compensation being also provided for patrons.

At the Restoration in 1660 Episcopacy and patronage were restored together, all the provisions of the Act 1649 being repealed and orders given that Presbyterian ministers settled under that Act should be ejected from their livings unless they accepted presentation from the patron, and came under special obligations to submit to the bishop. In consequence nearly one-third of the clergy vacated their livings, and then followed the persecution of the ejected clergy and their adherents—a period of history graven deeply on Scottish memory.

At the Revolution came what is known as the Revolution Settlement of the Church. The Act 1690, c. 23, deprived patrons of the right of presentation and in place thereof gave the power of nominating ministers to the "heritors of the parish being Protestants and the elders," who were "to name and propose the person to the whole congregation to be approven or disapproven by them." The Act revived the provisions of the Act 1649 giving compensation to patrons and contained provision under which the patron was to receive

a sum of 600 merks as compensation, to be levied by the heritors and liferenters of each parish, and thereupon the patron to grant a renunciation of his right. Until the renunciation was made by the patron, the heritors and kirk-session were to call the minister, conform to the Act, so that practically the patronage was transferred to them whether payment was made or not. In point of fact, only four parishes ever tendered the compensation to the patron.

The working of the Act 1690, which seems to have been fairly satisfactory, continued till 1712. In that year was passed the Act of Queen Anne by which the Act of 1690 was repealed and the rights of lay patrons restored except where renunciation of patronages had been formerly made. The Act nevertheless preserved the right of the patrons to the teinds which had been given them in 1649 and 1690 in place of the patronage; thus, as the General Assembly put it in their representation against the Bill when passing through Parliament, "this Bill takes back from the Church the power of presentation of ministers without restoring the tithes which formerly belonged to her,—by which the patrons come to enjoy both the purchase and the price." The Act requires and obliges presbyteries to receive any qualified persons presented to a parish, as presentees ought to have been admitted before the passing of the Act; and it makes no reference to any call or consent on the part of the people. It would encumber the present summary to set forth the objects and motives which caused the passing of that statute, there being historical evidence that it was one of the acts of a conspiracy for the purpose of bringing back the Stuart dynasty to the throne. It violated the Treaty of Union, changed the Constitution of the Church of Scotland against the remonstrance of the Church itself, and has been the cause or occasion of all the secessions from the Church which have since occurred.

On the passing of the Act of Queen Anne the General Assembly protested earnestly against it, and up till 1782 gave an annual instruction to their Commission to avail themselves of any opportunity for obtaining a repeal of the Act. Although after that date the annual protest was dropped, the protest of the Church against the continuance of patronage was always in the background, manifested additionally in later years by the formation of an association for purchasing patronages, and by representations to Parliament and otherwise, which resulted in 1834 in the appointment of a select Committee of the House of Commons on the law of patronage in the Church. The Committee of the House of Commons came to no definite resolution on the question of patronage, and within a year the Veto Act was passed, and the long weary conflict commenced which terminated in the Disruption in May 1843. Our narrative traces the after course of events.

INDEX

Aberdeen, 113, 120.
Aberdeen, Earl of, 22, 38, 106, 170.
Aberdeen Free Press, 158.
Africa, South, 66.
Aids to Devotion, 122.
Aird, Thos., 158.
Alexander, Dr. W. Lindsay, 14, 15, 48, 169, 222, 226.
Alexander, Wm., 158.
American Civil War, 171.
American influence, 15, 111, 235.
Anderson, John, 145.
Anderson, Dr. William, 14, 86, 94, 117.
Annuity Tax, 58, 153.
Anstruther, Sir R., M.P., 193, 195, 198.
Architecture, Church, 9, 211, 212.
Argyll, Duke of, 21, 94, 149, 194.
Arminianism, 49.
Arnot, Wm., 162, 235.
Assembly Hall, 137.
Atonement Controversy, 10, 159.
Australian Union, 131–3.

B.D. degree, 228.
Bain, Professor A., 228.
Baird, James, 232.
Baird Trust, 232.
Balfour, A. J., 200.
Balfour of Burleigh, Lord, 37.
Balmer, Dr. R., 14, 45, 46, 73.
Baptists, 11, 250–1.
Barclay, Principal, 203.
Baxter, W. E., 199.
Bayne, Peter, 158, 167, 256.
Beecher, Henry Ward, 171, 235.
Begg, Dr. James, 14, 51, 72, 109, 150–2, 179, 180, 184, 185, 196, 209, 219.
Belhaven, Lord, 125.
Bell, J. Peden, 164.
Benefices Act, 38, 55, 123, 124, 190.
Bible Dictionaries, 95, 253.
Bible Revision, 222.
Bible Society, National, 148.
Bishops in Presbyterian pulpits, 245–6.
Bisset, Dr. (Bourtie), 114, 120, 168.
Blackie, Professor J. S., 4.
Blaikie, W. G., 164, 238.
Bonar, Dr. Andrew, 8, 181, 255.
Bonar, Dr. Horatius, 8, 70, 165, 181.
Bothy system, 151–2.
Boyd, Dr. A. K. H., 63, 167, 208, 255.
Breadalbane, Marquis of, 72.
Brethrenism, 114.
Brewster, Sir D., 34, 53, 96, 97, 164.
Brewster, Patrick, 3.
Bright, John, 3.
British and Foreign Evangelical Review, 157, 256.
Brougham, Lord, 21, 55.
Brown, Dr. Charles, 70.
Brown, Dr. David, 94, 222.
Brown, Professor Hume, 1, 16.
Brown, Dr. James, 256, 258.
Brown, Professor John, 14, 45–8, 95, 165.
Brown, John, M.D., 47, 98, 165, 166.
Brown, Dr. Joseph, 258.
Bruce, Dr. A. B., 72, 168, 253.
Bruce, Dr. John, 258.
Brunton, Professor, 62.
Bryce, Dr., 14, 35, 62.
Buchanan, Dr. R., 14, 35, 62 67, 72, 137, 142, 185.
Burns, Dr. G., 216.
Burns, Professor Islay, 163.
Burns, W. C., 8.

Caird, Professor Edward, 229.
Caird, Dr. John, 63, 107, 227.
Cairns, Dr. John, 15, 47, 76, 89, 110, 133, 165, 216, 228.
Calabar Mission, 88, 148.
Calderwood, Dr. H., 154, 161, 162, 228.
Calvinism, 49.
Cameron, Andrew, 157.
Cameron, Dr. Chas., M.P., 200.
Campbell, Dr. J. M'Leod, 7, 49, 159, 160.

Campbell-Bannerman, Sir H., M.P., 200.
Canada, 87.
Candlish, Dr. R. S., 14, 40, 42, 71, 95, 118, 125, 149, 159, 168, 182, 186, 217–8, 252, 257.
Canons, Episcopal, 140.
Cardross Case, 127–30.
Carlyle, Thos., 3, 6, 228.
Carrubber's Close Mission, 115.
Cathedral building, 247.
Catholic Apostolic Church, 249.
Census, Religious (1851), 60, 92.
Chalmers, Dr. Thomas, 3, 6, 14, 40, 42, 44, 54, 57, 64, 67, 68, 71, 77, 97, 159.
Chambers, Robert, 97.
Chambers, William, 211.
Charteris, Dr. A. H., 165, 189, 198, 237.
Chartism, 3.
Cheyne, P., 139.
China, 147, 234.
Chloroform, Discovery of, 100.
Christian Life and Work, 230, 232.
Christmas services, 211.
Church building, 65.
Church Service Society, 203.
Civil Magistrate, 176.
Claim of Right, 22.
Clark, T. & T., 16, 162, 254.
Cobden, Richard, 3.
Cockburn, Lord, 58, 86.
Colenso, Bishop, 156.
College controversy, 137.
Collins, William, 77.
Colloquia Peripatetica, 224.
Colonial expansion, 44, 66.
Communion, Free, 82–3.
Communion Wine, 239.
Congregationalists, 11, 48, 49, 92, 140, 248.
Continent of Europe, 32–5, 100, 149.
Cook, Dr. G., 14, 38, 62, 168, 191, 198, 203, 232.
Corn Laws, 3, 98.
Courant, Edinburgh, 158.
Covenanting, 83, 251–2.
Cranbrook, James, 226–7.
Crawford, Professor T. J., 189, 227, 252.
Credal formula, 69.
Crichton, MacGill, 14.
Crimean War, 170–1.
Culross, Dr. J., 255.
Cumming, Dr. J. Elder, 191.
Cunningham, Dr. J. C., 161.
Cunningham, Dr. Wm., 14, 44, 71, 111, 132, 159, 160.
Cunningham Lectures, 252.
Daily Review, 158, 259.
Darwin, Charles, 156.
D'Aubigné, Dr. Merle, 93.
Davidson, Professor A. B., 108, 162, 220, 227.
Davidson, Dr. P., 178.
Davidson, Thos., 255–6.
Diaconate, Revival of, 44.
Disestablishment agitation, 238.
Disraeli, Benjamin, 196, 200, 247.
Disruption of Scottish Church, 19–35.
Dods, Dr. Marcus, 168, 254.
Donaldson, Dr. James, 254.
Dove, P. E., 164.
Drummond, D. T. K., 90.
Drummond, Henry, 236.
Duff, Dr. Alex., 16, 66, 144, 146.
Dunbar, Sir Wm., 90.
Duncan, Professor John, 44, 112, 224.
Dunlop, A. Murray, M.P., 14, 41, 131.
Dunlop, John, 77.

Eadie, Professor John, 47, 95, 216.
Edinburgh, 2, 5, 80, and passim.
Edinburgh Medical Missionary Association, 145.
Education, 4, 50–2, 110, 111, 240–3.
Education Act (1872), 241–3.
Elders, Election of, 57.
Elders' formula, 221–2.
Eldership, Influence of, 258.
Endowment scheme, 56, 57, 140, 141.
England, Presbyterianism in, 143, 175, 188.
Episcopacy in Scotland, 12, 89–91, 138–40, 243–8.
Erskine, Thomas, 7, 15, 61, 253.
Essays and Reviews, 156.
Euchologion, 207, 255.
Evangelical Alliance, 74–6.
Evangelical Union, 11, 49, 109, 248–9.
Evangelism, Lay, 112.
Evolution, 230.
Ewing, Bishop Alex., 90, 139, 244, 245–6.

Factory Legislation, 99.
Fairbairn, Dr. A. M., 227, 249.
Fairbairn, Dr. P., 95.
Family Treasury, 157.
Famine in Highlands, 98.
Fast Days, 210–1.
Ferguson, Fergus, 225–6.
Ferrier, Professor, 109.

Festivals, Church, 211.
Figgis, Dr. J. N., 27, 32.
Fleming, Professor, 96.
Flint, Professor R., 228, 253.
Forbes, Bishop A. P., 90, 138, 244.
Forbes, George, 244, 255.
Forbes, Dr. John, 177.
Forbes Mackenzie Act, 80, 153.
France, 33, 34.
Fraser, Professor A. Campbell, 72, 110, 158, 228.
Free Church characteristics, 68.
Free Trade, 98.

Gall, Jas., 115.
Gebbie, Wm., 115.
Geneva, 32.
Germany, 15, 33.
Gibson, Dr. James, 44, 76, 108, 131, 180, 182.
Gilfillan, George, 48, 97, 98, 167.
Gilfillan, James, 213.
Gillespie, Thos., 83.
Gillespie, Wm., 94.
Gladstone, George, 239.
Gladstone, Wm. Ewart, 31, 90, 91, 172, 193, 194, 195, 199.
Glasgow, 3, 137, 141–3.
Glasgow Assembly (1843), 43.
Glenalmond College, 12, 89, 90.
Glover, Richard, 250.
Godet, Professor, 33.
Gooch, G. P., 25.
Good Templars, 239.
Good Words, 156–7.
Gordon, E. S., 195, 197, 242.
Gordon, Dr. R., 14.
Graham, Sir Jas., 25, 27, 56.
Gretna Marriages, 155.
Greyfriars innovations, 119–20.
Grub, George, 161.
Guthrie, Dr. John, 11, 249.
Guthrie, Dr. Thos., 14, 55, 65, 72, 257.

Haldane, Robert and James, 11, 15.
Hamilton, Dr. James, 163.
Hamilton, Sir Wm., 30, 94, 109.
Hanna, Dr. Wm., 97, 110, 129, 163, 253.
Hannay, Jas., 158.
Harper, Dr. Jas., 47.
Hebrew Study, 95.
Hegelian influence, 229.
Henderson, Dr. Arch., 109.
Henderson, John (Park), 73, 149.
Hessey, Dr., 212.
Hetherington, Professor, 93.
Heugh, Dr., 14, 46, 97.
Highland religion, 13, 70.
Hill, Dr. A., 62.
Hill, D. O., 41.
Home Missions, 66, 67, 141.
Hope, John, 78, 124, 239.
Hope, Lord President, 14, 21.
Housing Problem, 151–2.
Howie, Robt., 108, 142.
Hume, Joseph, M.P., 3.
Hunter, Thos., 144.
Hymns, 9, 86, 87, 123, 208–9.

India, 16, 66, 144–6, 233.
Indian Mutiny, 145.
Industrial progress, 105.
Inglis, John (Aneityum), 148.
Innes, A. Taylor, 59, 188, 189, 195.
Innovations, 202–12.
Instrumental music, 117, 208–10.
Irish Disestablishment, 192, 237.
Irving, Edward, 7, 250.
Italy, 149.

Jamaica, 87, 88.
Jeffrey, Geo. and Robt., 258.
Jewish Disabilities, 58.
Jewish Missions, 16, 65.
Johnston, Wm. (Limekilns), 258.
Journalism in 1843, 6.
Judicial functions of Church, 59, 125.

Kaffraria, 87, 147, 234.
Kennedy, Dr. John, 180.
Ker, Dr. John, 15, 89, 169, 255.
Kettle, Robert, 77–8.
Kidston, Dr. W., 82.
Kidston, Wm., 180.
King, Dr. David, 14, 47.
Kirk, Dr. John, 49.
Knight, Dr. Wm., 224–5.
Korea, 234.

Lang, Dr. Marshall, 120.
Laski, Professor Harold J., 36.
Law of Creeds in Scotland, 188.
Lawson, Dr. Geo., 165.
Lay Evangelism, 112–4.
Leckie, Dr. Joseph, 258.
Lee, Principal John, 14, 39, 62, 161.
Lee, Dr. Robert, 14, 62, 93, 107, 113, 119–22, 202–8, 216.
Lees, Dr. J. Cameron, 203.
Libraries, Public, 105.

Lindsay, Professor T. M., 227.
Literature, 5, 92–8, 156–67, 252–6.
Liturgies, 122.
Livingstone, David, 16, 92, 234.
Livingston, Neil, 254.
Lothair, 196.
Lovedale, 147.

Macaulay, Lord, 3.
M'Cheyne, R. M., 8, 70, 97.
M'Coll, Dugald, 142.
M'Cosh, Dr. J., 94, 161.
M'Crie, Dr. T., 6.
Macdonald, Geo., 166.
M'Donald, Dr. J., 14.
M'Donald, Dr. R., 51.
M'Dougall, Professor, 53.
Macduff, Dr. J. R., 162.
M'Farlan, Dr. D., 38.
M'Farlan, Dr. P., 54.
M'Gill, Dr. H. M., 138.
M'Gilvray, Dr. W., 254.
M'Gregor, Dr. J., 142, 168.
M'Gregor, Professor J., 216, 219.
Mackelvie, Dr. W., 254.
Mackenzie, Forbes, M.P., 80.
Mackintosh, John, 72, 165.
M'Lachlan, Dr. T., 254.
M'Laren, Duncan, M.P., 80, 104, 153, 195, 198.
Macleod, Dr. John, 211, 250.
Macleod, Dr. Norman, 31, 38, 62, 63, 76, 93, 113, 124, 143, 156, 157, 164, 166, 193, 213–5, 230–1.
Macleod, Roderick (Snizort), 169.
M'Michael, Professor, 48.
M'Millan, Dr. Hugh, 256.
M'Millan, John, 127–9.
Macphail's Journal, 93, 158.
Macrae, David, 216.
Manse building, 65.
Marshall, Dr. A., 14, 46, 47.
Martin, Dr. Hugh, 180, 252.
Matheson, Donald, 112.
Mathieson, W. Law, 1, 16.
Maule, Fox, M.P. (Earl of Dalhousie), 22, 72, 131, 198.
Maurice, F. D., 214.
Maynooth Grant, 99.
Melville, Viscount, 2.
Methodists, 11, 251.
Miller, Hugh, 5, 6, 51, 96, 97, 164.
Miller, Professor J., 154.
Miller, Dr. S., 185.
Miller, Dr. Wm., 145, 233.
Milligan, Professor W., 216, 227.
Ministerial Communion, 127–8.
Missionary movement, 16, 87, 88, 144–8, 230, 231, 233, 234.
Moderatism, 7, 17–22, 26.
Moffat, Dr. R., 16.
Moncreiff, Sir H., 182, 183, 184.
Moncreiff, Lord Advocate, 53, 241–2.
Moody, D. L., 235–7.
Moody-Stuart, Dr. A., 181.
Morison, Dr. James, 10, 48–9, 96, 253.
Muir, Dr. R. H., 79.
Muir, Dr. Wm., 38, 62, 191.
Murdoch, John, 145.
Mutual Eligibility, 184.

Nasmith, David, 52.
New Hebrides, 148.
New Zealand, 66.
Nixon, Dr. W., 114, 179, 182, 222.
Normal Schools, 50, 51.
North, Brownlow, 112–3.
North British Review, 93, 158, 256.

Oliver, Dr. A., 178.
Organ question, 117–9, 208–10.
Oxford Movement, 26, 27.

Palmer, Wm., 90.
Palmerston, Lord, 150, 172.
Parliament and the Church, 25–7, 197–201.
Past and Present, 3.
Paterson, Dr. D. H., 145.
Paton, Dr. J. G., 148.
Patristic study, 254.
Patronage, Church, 190–202, App. D.
Paul, Wm., 95.
Permissive Bill Association, 154.
Phin, Dr. K. M., 168.
Pirie, Dr. W., 168, 191, 198, 202, 204, 225.
Pirie Act, 205, 206, 208.
Playfair, Dr. Lyon, M.P., 200.
Plumptre, Dr. E. H., 214–5.
Politics of ministers, 237.
Poor Law, 54, 105.
Postures in worship, 121.
Primitive Methodists, 11, 251.
Protest, Free Church, 22, App. A.
Protestant Institute, 127.
Pulsford, John, 227.
Pulsford, Dr. Wm., 227, 255.
Puseyism, 8.

Quakerism, 250.
Quarrier, Wm., 240.
Quoad sacra churches, 56.

Radcliffe, Reginald, 113.
Ragged Schools, 55.

Railways, 5, 103, 104.
Rainy, Dr. Robert, 72, 108, 109, 168, 179, 184, 188, 189, 196, 219, 229–30, 246, 252.
Ramsay, Dean, 167, 246.
Reading of Sermons, 85, 86.
Recess Studies, 223.
Reform Acts, 1, 237.
Reformation Tercentenary, 126.
Reformed Presbyterians, 13, 136, 175, 187, 251.
Reid, Dr. Wm., 78.
Relief Church, 10, 11, 82.
Renton, Henry, 89, 177.
Revisers of Bible, 222.
Revival, Religious, 70, 111–6, 234–7.
Richmond and Gordon, Duke of, 197.
Ritchie, Dr. J., 14.
Rivalry, Church, 104–5.
Robertson, Professor James, 14, 39, 54, 56, 57, 62, 113, 140, 141, 165.
Robertson, Jas. (printer), 217–8.
Robertson, Dr. W. B., 15, 89, 110, 211.
Roman Catholicism, 9.
Rosebery, Earl of, 194.
Ross, Wm. (Cowcaddens), 233.
Roxburgh, Dr., 152.
Russel, Alex., 119.

Sabbath Question, 5, 69, 80, 155, 212–20.
Sabbath schools, 52.
Sankey, Ira D., 235–6.
Schemes, The Five, 57.
School Boards, 242.
Scotsman, 6, 104, 119, 158, 224.
Scott, Hew (Fasti), 254.
Scott, Sir Walter, 1, 5.
Scott, Wm. (Glasgow), 48.
Seceders, Original, 13, 69, 70, 251.
Secession Church, 10, 81, 82.
Shaftesbury, Earl of, 99.
Shoolbred, Dr. Williamson, 146.
Simpson, Dr., 58.
Simpson, Professor James, 100.
Smeaton, Professor, 107, 180, 252.
Smith, Jas. (Jordanhill), 96.
Smith, Dr. Thos., 186.
Smith, Dr. Walter C., 72, 166, 218–20, 255.
Smith, Dr. Wm., 141, 190–1.
Smith, Professor W. Robertson, 217, 227, 256.
Social conditions, 5, 149–55, 238–9.
Soga, Tiyo, 147, 234.
Somerville, Dr. A., 87, 138.
Somerville, Dr. A. N., 233.
Speirs, Graham, 14.
Spurgeon, C. H., 178.
Stalker, Dr. James, 236.
Stanley, Dean, 246.
Steele, Thomas, 146.
Stewart, Dr. James, 233.
Stirling, Dr. J. Hutchison, 228.
Story, Dr. R. H., 38, 165, 203, 210.
Stow, David, 50.
Strathbogie case, 21, 38.
Struthers, Dr. G., 14, 73.
Sturrock *v.* Grey, 59.
Sunday (Bampton Lectures), 212.
Sustentation Fund, 41, 64, 137.
Switzerland, 32.
Symington, the brothers, 14.

Tanfield Hall, 23, 82.
Tasker, Wm., 67.
Taylor, Isaac, 159.
Taylor, Dr. Jas., 258.
Temperance League, Scottish, 78, 154.
Temperance Reform, 4, 76–81, 154–5, 239.
Theological education, 106.
Tonic Sol-fa system, 118.
Trains on Sunday, 5, 213.
Tulloch, Dr. John, 63, 107, 157, 160, 192, 193, 216, 221, 253.
Tulloch, Wm., 251.
Tyndall, Professor, 229.

Union, Basis of, between Secession and Relief, 82, 83, App. B.
Union, Church, 130–6, 174–90.
United Presbyterian Church, 81 and *passim*.
Unity, Christian, 72–6.
Universities, 53, 109, 110, 228–9.
University Tests, 53.

Vestiges of Creation, 97.
Veto on election of ministers, 20, 25 n.
Victoria, Queen, 61, 247.
Vinet, Alex., 15, 32.
Voluntaryism, 12, 28, 29, 42, 84.

Walker, Dr. James, 163, 252.
Wallace, Dr. R., 198, 207, 223.
Wardlaw, Dr. R., 14, 48, 94, 165.
Weaver, Richard, 112.

Wells, Dr. Jas., 115.
Welsh, Dr. D., 15, 44, 71, 94.
Wesleyan Methodists, 11, 251.
Westminster Assembly Bi-centenary, 73.
Westminster Standards, 177, 222.
Whigs, 2, 3, 25.
Whyte, Dr. Alexander, 162, 257.
Wilson, Bishop (Glasgow), 245.
Wilson, George, 164.
Wilson, Dr. John (Bombay), 44, 96.
Wilson, Dr. J. Hood, 67.
Witness newspaper, 6, 158.
Wodrow Society, 6.
Women, Church Rights of, 45.
Wood, Dr. Julius, 177, 236.
Wordsworth, Bishop Charles, 90 91, 139, 245.
Worship, Church, 9, 62, 116–23, 202–8.
Wright of Borthwick, 7.
Wylie, Dr. J. A., 158.
Wynd Mission (Glasgow), 141–3.

Young, Alex. (Logiealmond), 169.
Young, Dr. D. (Perth), 14.
Young Men's Association, 52

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